SPECIAL ISSUE

AUGUST 1, 1983

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TIME

JAPAN

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TIME

AUGUST 1, 1983 Vol. 122 No. 5

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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A Letter from the Publisher

TIME rarely devotes an entire issue to a single subject; in the past 13 years, only five topics have been so treated: blacks in America (1970), the American woman (1972), President Nixon's resignation (1974), the South (1976) and the Soviet Union (1980). Early this year, the magazine's editors decided that Japan, with its constantly increasing impact on international affairs, would be an appropriate topic for such an issue. Japan has moved into the forefront of the news as its booming economy has affected everything from the shopping habits to the trade deficits of the entire Western world. Japan's politics, arts, technology, mores, business practices—indeed, its way of life—have become the subject of intense curiosity.

Yet this curiosity has proved strangely difficult to satisfy. While Japan is by no means a closed society like the Soviet Union, which strictly limits access by foreign journalists to its citizens, it is, in the words of Managing Editor Ray Cave, "veiled in a different fashion, psychologically and linguistically." No matter how much time and effort Western journalists spend trying to understand specific aspects of Japan, they are rarely confident that the subject has been fully grasped. TIME's editors were convinced that readers shared their own interest in Japan, and their own desire to view the nation in broad perspective.

Work on the special issue began in March under the editorial supervision of Senior Writer Roger Rosenblatt. Tokyo Bureau Chief Edwin Reingold, Correspondent S. Chang and Reporters Alan Tansman, Thomas Levenson and Yuki Ishikawa were joined by Hong Kong Bureau Chief Sandra Burton. They conducted hundreds of interviews that ranged across Japanese society: Reingold met with Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone in his neobaroque Official Residence in Tokyo; Chang visited shabby neighborhood bars to talk with laborers who were not part of their country's "corporation families." The Tokyo task force was augmented by writers working in special areas: Art Critic Robert Hughes, Design Critic Wolf Von Eckardt, Music Critic Michael Walsh and Senior Writers Paul Gray and Lance Morrow. Picture Editor Arnold Drapkin went to Japan to direct the activities of Bureau Photo Editor Shoichi Imai and the assignments of Photographers Neil Leifer and Ted Thai.

In New York, the editors, with the help of Design Consultant Tom Bentkowski, made format changes to handle the issue's unusual demands. Added to the magazine's regular departments were five new sections: History, Culture, Psychology, Language and Travel, the latter written especially for TIME by William Least Heat Moon, author of the bestselling U.S. travelogue *Blue Highways*. A New York City printing firm provided the characters symbolizing each of TIME's sections (the kanji above: Japan).

Reporter-Researcher Val Castronovo coordinated the efforts of the large research staff. Reporter-Researcher Rosemary Byrnes gathered and assessed material for the cover story. The editors were also substantively aided by two special consultants: Robert Christopher, former TIME senior editor and author of *The Japanese Mind* (1983), and Edwin Reischauer, U.S. Ambassador to Japan from 1961 to 1966 and a noted Asia scholar who wrote *The Japanese* (1977).

The resulting special issue is the largest in TIME's history. It constitutes an incisive, in-depth portrait of Japan today, that vigorous, fascinating nation poised at a hazardous crossroad between East and West.

John A. Meyers

SPECIAL ISSUE

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The Country: Enormously successful, Japan now confronts the problems of an advanced industrial society. At home, social change is sweeping aside traditions; abroad, the Japanese generate suspicion and ill-feeling. The present is booming and boisterous, but the future lies in shadow.

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Design: Not just beauty, but the beauty of calm understatement; not just perfection but the perfection emphasized by a slight flaw. These traits give Japanese design its *shibusa*, a mix of flair and simplicity, visible in what one designer calls "the just so of the swerve of a pagoda or the sword of a samurai."

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"The spirit of Christie, Allingham and Sayers lives on."
—*Los Angeles Times*

Bill Grimes

Last year *The New Yorker* greeted Martha Grimes's previous novel, THE OLD FOX DECEIV'D, as "a pleasure from its classic start to its equally classic finish," and hailed its creator as "a neo-Christie, a neo-Sayers." The *Los Angeles Times* (above) and other reviewers have built a chorus of comparisons to the masters of classic British mystery. In her new novel of detection, THE ANODYNE NECKLACE, Ms. Grimes has served up her most invigorating mixture yet of quaint English atmosphere and bracing suspense.

The urbane Richard Jury (newly promoted to Superintendent, Scotland Yard) and his dilettante collaborator, Melrose Plant, are summoned to the village of Littlebourne, some 40 miles from London. Littlebourne is distinguished by its well-tended green, its muffin shop, an antique pub called The Blue Boy, and—most recently—by a gruesome murder in the nearby boggy wood. As Jury and Plant sort through the eccentric locals in search of a killer, readers will find "great fun in full harmony with first-rate deduction" (*Kirkus Reviews*), and "a nearly perfect combination of character, atmosphere, and cleverly planted clues....Absolutely super!" (*Library Journal*).

The Anodyne Necklace

—A Richard Jury Mystery—

Martha Grimes

Also available:
THE MAN WITH A LOAD OF MISCHIEF and THE OLD FOX DECEIV'D

Little, Brown and Company

At bookstores now

Milestones

ACQUITTED. Rita M. Lavelle, 35, a former assistant administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; of contempt of Congress for failing to testify in March about her management of the EPA hazardous-waste-cleanup fund on the ground that she was "emotionally and physically unable to attend," after less than two hours of deliberation by a federal jury; in Washington. Dismissed by President Reagan in February, Lavelle still faces possible perjury charges for earlier congressional testimony.

DIED. Frank Reynolds, 59, scrupulous, committed anchorman of ABC's *World News Tonight;* of viral hepatitis complicated by bone cancer; in Washington. A veteran of Chicago's competitive local journalism, Reynolds joined ABC in 1965 and covered the White House and other major beats before co-anchoring the evening news from 1968 to 1970, returning to that chair again in 1978. Widely respected by colleagues for his honesty, fairness and rectitude, he often brought an emotional edge to his work: showing pain at the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and sudden rage when he received conflicting reports on the condition of Press Secretary James Brady after the 1981 attempted assassination of President Reagan, exclaiming on the air, "Let's get it nailed down, somebody!" For many years the ratings of *World News Tonight* did not match those of its network rivals, but this year Reynolds' show pulled ahead of NBC to the second slot, then slipped dramatically after his illness forced him off the air in late April.

DIED. George Lichty, 78, creator and cartoonist (from 1932 to 1974) of the satirical *Grin and Bear It,* syndicated at its peak in more than 300 newspapers; of a heart attack; in Santa Rosa, Calif. His distinctive one-panel series was neither comic strip nor editorial cartoon, though his jokes grew more topical. One regular character, the bombastic Senator Snort, was a favorite of President Harry Truman, who owned twelve original Lichty cartoons.

DIED. Arthur M. Wirtz, 82, hard-nosed real estate and sports magnate; of cancer; in Chicago. A policeman's son who made a Depression fortune by buying up bankrupt properties, Wirtz joined Grain Speculator James Norris to take control of Chicago Stadium in 1935, filling the arena with his own ice revues, his hockey Black Hawks and the basketball Bulls, of which he was part owner. The Wirtz-Norris interests gained such a stranglehold over boxing—promoting 90% of all championship bouts in the U.S. between 1949 and 1955—that a federal court ordered their International Boxing Clubs dissolved. Owner of a string of lakefront luxury high-rises that reportedly earned him more than $100 million a year, Wirtz once boasted, "I don't know how much I'm worth, and I don't care."

"Puerto Rican white rum makes a better tonic drink than gin or vodka."

"It's remarkable how our Puerto Rican white rum makes so many drinks taste better."

Architect Ricardo Jimenez and his wife Ingrid

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Letters

Blue Chip IBM

To the Editors:

IBM is American to its core, which is what helps make it so profitable and, possibly, unique [July 11]. When I attend company conferences, I feel as if I am in a meeting of the United Nations. I sit among Japanese, blacks, Chinese, Indians, Arabs, Hispanics and women. In confronting its competition, the company is fiercely tough and at the same time ethical.

Barry Polisuk
San Jose, Calif.

IBM, the great sales colossus, is also great to sell to. We are a company that has provided IBM with services for ten years and have found it to be a model customer. It is fair, pays on time and cooperates completely when problems arise. Unlike many other large corporations, which have double standards for buying and selling, IBM practices what it preaches.

Robert M. Sherin, President
Southern Computing Service, Inc.
Miami

This graffito was seen in the University of Minnesota library:

I compute,
There I Be a M.

Michael Rabe
Minneapolis

IBM may give good service to its large customers, but if you are running a small college bookstore, you will find the service is cursory.

Jean Marie Becker
Northbrook, Ill.

Brief Booknapers

The current Washington ballyhoo over who took Jimmy Carter's briefing book [July 11] is nothing more than an attempt by Democrats to divert attention from the relevant issues. The Carter-Reagan debate did not determine who won or lost the presidency. The Democrats are looking for something to damage Reagan's image and hurt his chances for re-election.

Mark E. Mitchell
Doraville, Ga.

It does not matter whether President Reagan had knowledge of what was going on at the time of the debate. He knows now and should speak out clearly about the morality of what was allegedly done.

Georgia Janewicz
Wilmette, Ill.

Who took Carter's briefing book? Who gives a hoot?

Elisabeth F. Doyle
Tucson

Challenging Arafat

The plight of the Palestinians [July 11] is deplorable. But let us not forget the inflexibility shown by the P.L.O. leaders, especially Yasser Arafat. They have refused any kind of compromise and have been the rudest of guests whenever an Arab country has extended hospitality to them. They have also allied themselves with villains like Libya's Muammar Gaddafi and Iran's Ayatullah Khomeini. Arafat is getting what he deserves.

Mir Fattah
Rome

The Palestinians' needs come last even with their friends, Syria and the Soviet Union. With Arafat, the Palestinians rank first 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 52 weeks a year.

Pat DeLaney
St. Louis

Sticks and Stones

In your report on the hostilities that have broken out among various Jewish groups in Israel and the U.S. [June 27], you state that the Lubavitcher and Satmarer Hasidim have engaged in several rock-throwing street battles in Brooklyn. This leaves the impression that members of the Lubavitch community took part in the rock throwing. On the contrary, our people have been the victims. We have been attacked by the Satmarers, who hurled stones on us from rooftops and who recently beat and shaved off the beards of two of our rabbis.

Rabbi Yehuda Krinsky
New York City

Funny Eddie

Your article on black Comedian Eddie Murphy [July 11] was a shallow, superficial puff piece. You would have served your readers far better if you had chosen to analyze the reasons behind Murphy's rise to stardom. Why is he, along with Richard Pryor, finding such enormous success while serious black dramatic actors and actresses rarely work? Can it be that they are white America's latest court jesters?

Regina R. Patterson
New York City

Profitable Hospitals

Your article on the increased number of U.S. hospitals that are owned or managed by profitmaking companies [July 4] raises a serious question: How will public facilities survive? Public hospitals are forced to accept Medicaid and indigent patients; private hospitals do so only to a nominal degree. Consequently, public hospitals need profits from well-to-do and well-insured patients to offset the large losses that Medicaid and nonpaying people generate. If these profits go instead to private hospitals, then a tax to support the public hospital is the only answer.

Russell M. Moses Sr., Chairman
Toombs County Hospital Authority
Vidalia, Ga.

Membership Count

Re your analysis of the Unitarian Universalist Church's attempt to reconsider its principles and purposes [June 27]: our decline in membership since 1975 has been 9%, not 31% as you reported, a figure that parallels the losses in other Protestant denominations.

The Rev. Eugene Pickett, President
Unitarian Universalist Association
Boston

Harsh Feelings

Reader David Hyun of the Korean American Coalition [July 11] complained that TIME's report on Los Angeles, the new melting pot, was unfair to recent Korean immigrants. Perhaps Hyun should check into the practices of some Koreatown merchants. I lived and worked in that area for 20 years and continued to shop at the neighborhood market after it was bought by Koreans. One day I tried to pay for my groceries with a check.

"No checks," the clerk said.

I produced valid credentials.

"No checks," she insisted.

I pointed out that two customers ahead of me had paid with checks.

She agreed. "But they were Korean. We don't take checks from Americans."

Edith Broughton
Glendale, Calif.

Reader Ho Joung Ha [July 4] begins her letter saying, "As an American citizen, but first and last a Korean."

That says it all.

Victor Koepfer
Worcester, Mass.

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TIME/ AUGUST 1, 1983

Rolling Out the Big Guns

New brains and brawn for Central America

The aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Ranger*

Kissinger in San Francisco last week: "There are indigenous injustices"

Few problems have frustrated the Reagan Administration more than its inability to rally support for its Central American policies. As the President lamented to a convention of longshoremen meeting in Hollywood, Fla., last week: "Many of our citizens don't fully understand the seriousness of the situation." Indeed, Congress and the public have generally remained either uninterested in or downright skeptical about American support for the government in El Salvador, which is struggling against left-wing rebels, and U.S. opposition to the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, which is struggling against CIA-backed insurgents. So in addition to speaking loudly last week, Reagan brandished weapons. He appointed a special twelve-man commission headed by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to shape a national consensus on Central America, and he dispatched an aircraft carrier battle group for a dubious dramatization of U.S. firmness and commitment in the region.

At the urging of National Security Adviser William Clark and U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, Reagan has been placing greater emphasis on Central America in recent months. He has toughened his public pronouncements and made significant changes in the State Department hierarchy. This has caused concern in Congress that he is stressing a military approach too strongly. The purpose of the Kissinger Commission is, ostensibly, to give advice on long-term American policy in Central America and help coalesce public support for these goals. But despite its somewhat vague mandate, it has a clear-cut political purpose: justifying the deeper extended commitment in Central America, both military and economic, that the Reagan Administration has clearly decided is necessary for the protection of U.S. interests.

The idea of a bipartisan commission on Central America was promoted by Kirkpatrick. She discussed it in February with two Democrats on Capitol Hill, Senator Henry Jackson of Washington and Congressman Michael Barnes of Maryland, and they sponsored resolutions calling for such a panel. Despite its success in using blue-ribbon groups to handle the hot issues of Social Security reform and the MX missile, the White House was skeptical at first. But by the end of June, after Reagan's own speeches failed to galvanize support for his policies, the idea began to sound better. "We're going to have to build a consensus on Capitol Hill damn soon," said a senior Reagan aide. "We had to try something different."

For Kissinger, who in recent months has become a regular informal consultant to Clark, the appointment presented a chance to return to a position of official power. For the Reagan Administration, which has often been criticized for lacking depth in international affairs, tapping Kissinger was a way to lend credibility to foundering aspects of its foreign policy. But the choice was nonetheless surprising. The commission was formed in part to dampen domestic controversy, and Kissinger is, above all, a highly controversial figure. Indeed, in his unsuccessful 1976 primary campaign against President Gerald Ford, Reagan launched a sustained series of attacks on Kissinger, saying, among other things, "Kissinger's stewardship of U.S. foreign policy has coincided precisely with the loss of U.S. military supremacy."

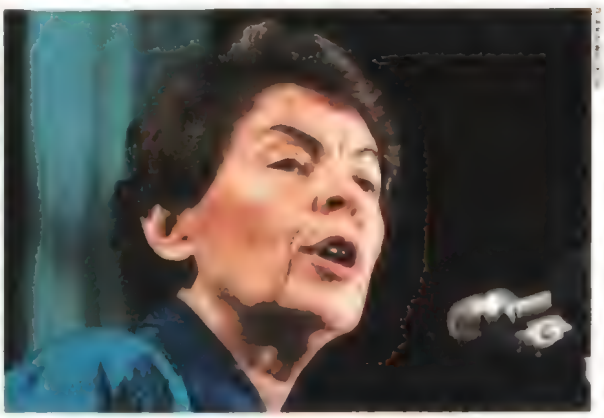
Although many moderates hailed his appointment, Kissinger was attacked last week from both ends of the political spectrum. Liberals charged that his only notable experience with Latin America was involvement in the U.S. effort in the early 1970s to destabilize covertly the government in Chile led by the elected Marxist President Salvador Allende. Kissinger's role in the conduct of the Viet Nam War also rankled. Complained Democratic Congressman Norm Mineta of California: "People are already relating Nicaragua to Viet Nam. Now comes the man who gave us the bombing of Cambodia to deal with Central American problems. It doesn't make any sense."

Those on the far right criticized Kissinger for being an exponent of what they

see as the failed policy of East-West détente. "There may be someone across this broad land farther down my list of preferences for such a position than Henry Kissinger," said Republican Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina. "But I can't think of him." Richard Viguerie, publisher of *Conservative Digest*, charged that "Kissinger's track record is one of losing countries."

Kissinger, who was scheduled to take up residence Monday in the first-floor suite traditionally used by incoming Secretaries during a transition, ordered that a full set of briefing papers be prepared for him over the weekend. He wants to have his own public relations staff, and is expected to embark on a trip to Central America soon. Reaction at the turf-conscious State Department was wary, to put it very diplomatically. Many considered the appointment a slight to Secretary George Shultz and to the role of the department. Said one: "Imagine what Kissinger's reaction would have been when he was Secretary to the appointment of a Shultz commission." But Shultz, who was supposed to take greater charge of Latin American policy as part of a deal worked out with the White House after the removal of Thomas Enders as Assistant Secretary, said that he "welcomed" the appointment of his old friend Kissinger.

Reagan to longshoremen: "Our citizens don't fully understand"



Kirkpatrick in Washington: The spread of Marxism is not irreversible

Kissinger made few pronouncements on Latin America while serving as Secretary of State from 1973 to 1977, and generally gave the area a low priority. More recently he has taken a hard-line stance. "It is time we stopped arguing only about how much democracy there is in El Salvador and began to understand America's strategic interests are at stake," he told TIME this spring. In an interview with *Public Opinion* magazine that appeared in April, he faulted the Reagan Administration for tailoring its aid requests to what it felt Congress would approve. Said Kissinger: "Its program strikes me as having been set by its estimate of the maximum Congress will appropriate, not a strategic or political assessment."

After his appointment last week, Kissinger indicated that he would not approach the situation as simply an East-West military struggle. "Nobody should believe that every problem everywhere in the world is caused solely, or maybe even principally, by the Soviet Union," he said in a speech to businessmen in San Francisco. "Especially in the underdeveloped parts of the world, there are indigenous injustices."

Kirkpatrick, who is the President's representative on the commission, is expected to be one of its driving forces. In a speech last week, she stressed that Communist regimes "can be overturned" and the spread of Marxism should not be considered irreversible. Robert Strauss, the blunt Texan who is a former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, is likely to be the most prominent voice from outside the Administration among the appointed members. When phoned on Sunday night and offered the position, Strauss, who served as President Carter's special envoy to the Middle East, turned to his wife and said, "You know that is really a loser." She told him that he was always complaining about Administration policy, so he should either take the job or "hush up." Not being one to hush up, he agreed to accept if he had the right to remain "highly independent."

Strauss is one of four Texans on the commission. San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros, a Democrat, said he would "approach this task as a person skeptical of the present U.S. policy" and felt more emphasis should be placed on human rights rather than on military solutions. Former Governor William Clements, a Republican, is a strong supporter of the President but is known for his independent mind. Boston University President John Silber, whose hawkish and conservative views have stirred controversy on his campus, was born in Texas and taught philosophy there. Others on the all-male panel: Yale Economics Professor Carlos Diaz-Alejandro, a refugee from Castro's Cuba who nonetheless takes a generally liberal foreign policy line; former New Jersey Senator Nicholas Brady, a quintessential Eastern Establishment Republican; retired Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart, who is known for his nonideological legal approach; Political Analyst Richard Scammon, a neoconservative Democrat and close friend of Kirkpatrick's; AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, a Democrat who holds generally conservative foreign policy views but whose sensitivity to human rights has been accented by the murder of two labor representatives in El Salvador; National Federation of Independent Business President Wilson Johnson, a moderately conservative Republican from San Mateo, Calif.; and Project HOPE Founder and President William Walsh, who is noted for his health care work in underdeveloped countries.

Having thus tried to strengthen his support at home, Reagan approved a display of muscle-flexing diplomacy designed to demonstrate U.S. firepower in Central America *(see box)*. The aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Ranger*, accompanied by seven support ships, steamed south from San Diego toward Nicaragua's Pacific shore. The Pentagon planned to send two additional carriers into the region in August. Preparations also were made for joint maneuvers in Honduras that could involve up to 5,000 troops rotating in and out over a six-month period. "There is a desire to provide a boost to the morale of the Hondurans and the Salvadorans and to show that U.S. power is not rhetoric," said a senior U.S. diplomat. But the ostentatious making of waves, which seemed an attention grabber rather than a justified military maneuver, stirred resentment at home and abroad. Panamanian Foreign Minister Juan José Amado, whose country has been supportive of U.S. peace efforts, said such actions will "cause concern and tension" in Latin America. Congressman Barnes, who will be one of eight congressional consultants to the Kissinger panel, said, "I don't think the timing could be worse."

Reagan managed at a mini-press conference last week to sound intimidating even when denying that the naval fleet was preparing for a blockade of Nicaragua. Given an easy opportunity to say he would not favor a blockade, he instead said, "I would hope that eventuality would not arise." Reagan minced no words at the session with reporters when asked about the Sandinista government now ruling Nicaragua. When the regime consolidated power, he said, "the present group wanted Communist totalitarianism." Could a diplomatic settlement be reached with them? "I think it

would be extremely difficult," he said, "because I think they are being subverted, or they are being directed by outside forces."

At about the same time, the Sandinista leadership was softening its own stance in hopes of an accommodation with the U.S. To a crowd of 75,000 celebrating the fourth anniversary of the overthrow of Dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle, Nicaraguan Leader Daniel Ortega Saavedra announced that his government "had decided to make a new effort to contribute to peace" and was willing to join in the multilateral regional discussions that the U.S. has sought. Ortega proposed a six-point peace plan that would prohibit arms sales to both the government and the rebels in El Salvador, as well as military aid to insurgents elsewhere in Central America.

The U.S. reacted cautiously to the Nicaraguan suggestion. A high-ranking State Department official said that it does not represent a radical new proposal. "It's not a sea change," he said. "It's a 5% movement." U.S. officials said that the main flaw in the Nicaraguan proposal was that it equated American support for the Salvadoran government, which was elected, with Nicaraguan support for the Salvadoran left, which is seeking power by force.

The regional negotiations that Nicaragua offered to join are being pushed by four countries—Mexico, Venezuela, Panama and Colombia—known as the Contadora group. The U.S. supports their effort, but from afar. The Presidents of the Contadora countries met in Cancún a week ago to try to get the negotiating process under way, and another meeting is scheduled this week in Panama. Central American Special Envoy Richard Stone (whose job, like Kissinger's, was created partly to please Congress) left late last

"The Idea Is to Intimidate"

The President made it sound routine. "We're conducting exercises such as we've conducted before," he said. But Pentagon officials who were eager to explain, though not to be identified, said one purpose of the imminent U.S. naval maneuvers off both coasts of Central America was to rehearse a possible quarantine of Soviet and Cuban weapons into the region. The U.S. naval display will be accompanied by U.S. and Honduras army maneuvers near Nicaragua's border. "The idea is to intimidate," a Pentagon official said in reference to Nicaragua, "and see if we can have a real effect on the flow of arms" to insurgents in El Salvador.

REININGER—CONTACT

U.S. C-130 troop transports in Tegucigalpa, Honduras

The exercises at sea look like old-fashioned gunboat diplomacy on a far grander scale. The U.S. aircraft carrier *Ranger* had been diverted from a scheduled tour of the western Pacific and was heading from San Diego into Pacific waters off Honduras and Nicaragua. It carries more than 70 aircraft. Its battle group includes seven other ships: a cruiser, a guided-missile destroyer, two standard destroyers, a frigate, an oiler and a fast support ship. The battleship *New Jersey*, now off Southeast Asia, may join the *Ranger* in about three weeks.

Meanwhile, another battle group, headed by the carrier *Coral Sea*, which is in the Mediterranean, will take up a station off the Caribbean coast of Honduras and Nicaragua. Other battle groups may rotate with the first two in the naval exercises, which are scheduled to continue through January. That is much longer than previous "routine" exercises. No actual interdiction of ships carrying arms to Nicaragua or El Salvador is planned, although suspect vessels will be watched and photographed. The highly publicized preparations contrast sharply with the private observations of some U.S. military officials in El Salvador that stopping the influx of weapons into the nation would have little immediate impact, since both sides have more than sufficient arsenals.

The land maneuvers are expected to involve up to 5,000 U.S. Army and Air Force personnel. Joint Chiefs Chairman John Vessey was to visit Honduras this week to coordinate the plans. The operation apparently will first involve sending Army engineers to Honduras to enlarge several airstrips so that 250-ft.-long C-5A Galaxy transport planes can fly in U.S. Army troops (345 in each C-5A). This would demonstrate how quickly Honduras could be aided by the U.S. if Nicaragua invaded. Individual U.S. units are not expected to stay in Honduras for more than three weeks at a time, but rotating groups would take part throughout six months or so.

Secret plans also involve placing large supplies of military equipment in Honduras. Construction reportedly will soon begin on a $150 million air and naval base on the country's Atlantic coast. Radar and electronic listening posts will be established at undisclosed sites in Central America. A high national security official was quoted as saying: "We have developed a program for a significant and long-lasting increase in the U.S. military presence in Central America."

That presence in Honduras already includes 57 U.S. Air Force technicians who man a radar station on a mountaintop 23 miles southeast of Tegucigalpa. In operation only since last month, it was ostensibly erected to monitor some 55 U.S. military support flights in and out of Honduras each month. In fact, the unit's radar can watch air traffic above all of Nicaragua and El Salvador.

In addition, 126 U.S. Special Forces experts at a new "regional training center" in Puerto Castilla, Honduras, are instructing a 1,000-man battalion of Salvadoran troops in fast-reaction techniques to counter guerrilla attacks. Later this year the Green Berets will train four 350-man Salvadoran battalions in *cazador* (hunter) tactics to seek out rebel units. Seventy-three U.S. trainers in Honduras are split into mobile teams to provide expertise sought by the Honduran military.

The "covert" U.S. support of the *contras* operating in Nicaragua involves a large logistics and communications operation in Honduras directed by CIA experts. They use unmarked supply planes as well as surveillance aircraft.

In El Salvador, 42 U.S. military trainers mostly teach special skills and tactics to government troops; some advise senior army commanders. At the U.S. embassy in San Salvador, five officers supervise military aid programs. This total of 47 is under the Administration's self-imposed limit of 55.

The largest U.S. military contingent in Central America is based in Panama to protect the canal. It includes 9,000 Army, Navy and Air Force personnel, who man an infantry brigade, a squadron of A-7 light attack jets and a Special Forces airborne battalion. Although these forces could be carried by C-130 troop transports to Honduras or Nicaragua in less than two hours, security of the canal presumably would be of great concern in a military crisis in Central America. Any responding American troops would probably be airlifted from the U.S. in the manner soon to be rehearsed.

week for meetings with the Contadora representatives. Stone was also prepared to talk directly with leaders of the Salvadoran guerrilla movement. "They will be aware he will be traveling in the area," said one of his aides.

The more difficult negotiations for the Administration may be with Congress. Behind locked and guarded doors, the House last week held a secret debate, only its fourth in history (others have involved President Jackson's trade talks with Britain in 1830, the Panama Canal treaties in 1979 and aid to Nicaragua in 1980), on whether to cut off covert funding for the Honduras-based rebels fighting the Sandinista regime. The closed four-hour session, according to one participant, "was not earth shattering," and many members wandered away before it was over. A vote on the covert-funding cutoff is tentatively scheduled for this week. (The U.S. may have a powerful and discreet partner in its covert support of the anti-Sandinista rebels. According to the New York *Times*, Israel is funneling captured P.L.O. weapons to the insurgents in cooperation with the CIA.)

Meanwhile, as required by Congress every six months, the Administration officially "certified" that El Salvador was making progress on protecting human rights. The report observed that civilian deaths had risen from an average of 160 a month during the second half of 1982 to 177 a month now, but added that the Salvadoran government was making a "concerted and significant effort" to end the killings. "Our disappointment with the pace of change should not obscure the fact that change is occurring," noted Shultz. When asked what grounds there were for the certification, a senior State Department official snapped: "This law was written about El Salvador and not Utopia."

Although the purpose of the Kissinger commission is more to provide support for current policies than to shape new ones, members will inevitably become involved in considering future diplomatic moves and the appropriate levels of U.S. commitments. Indeed, while Kissinger is known to be sympathetic to Administration policies, he is certainly not wedded to them. In his interview with *Public Opinion*, for example, he suggested scrapping the covert approach in Nicaragua in favor of coming right out in the open. Said he: "If the stated objective is to prevent infiltration, then I would prefer an overt action. I support the idea of giving military equipment to guerrillas who fight the Sandinistas."

The fact that the commission's report is not due for four months might provide the Administration with some breathing room to pursue its current policies. At the very least, the panel's work will focus awareness on the issues involved. In that regard, Kissinger and an aircraft carrier battle group have one thing in common: they both attract attention. —*By Walter Isaacson. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington*

Hard Choices on the Hill

A close call for the MX; censure for Studds and Crane

It's first test flight in June, from California to the South Pacific, was impressively smooth. But the MX missile's voyage through Congress last week was a rough one, and the Administration needed all its considerable lobbying skills to save the funding for the beleaguered weapon. Shortly before the House voted 220 to 207 to authorize $2.5 billion to build 27 missiles, the President and Vice President were still calling wavering Congressmen. "Those two are dynamite when it comes to lobbying," said an admiring White House aide after the narrow victory.

It was a crucial win for the Administration, which plans to deploy the 96-ton, ten-warhead missiles in modified Minuteman silos in 1986. "We need the MX," President Reagan urged Congress in a letter, "not only for force modernization but to keep the Soviets moving at the negotiation tables." Expected Senate approval of the funding was held up by a filibuster by Democrat Gary Hart of Colorado, a presidential candidate, who lambasted the missile as a "vulnerable, destabilizing, first-strike weapon."

The close vote in the House reflected a significant shift in sentiment. In May, 91 Democrats voted to restore research and development money for the MX. But last week, only 73 Democrats voted to authorize production money. The defectors, including Majority Leader Jim Wright, were under intense pressure from the Democratic caucus and nuclear-freeze groups. Many Democrats question whether the Administration is sincere about bargaining for arms reductions. "The President himself has shown some flexibility, but it hasn't trickled down to his advisers," said Democratic Congressman Dan Glickman of Kansas.

A provision was added reducing the first batch of missiles to 21. The MX will face another tough test in the fall, when the 1984 defense appropriations bill comes before Congress. Said Tennessee Congressman Albert Gore Jr.: "There has got to be some movement on the negotiations."

Another legislative battle on the Administration's agenda has been sidestepped. Illinois Congressman Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, revealed that Congress would not try to pass a major tax bill this year to offset the projected $200 billion federal deficit. He said there was no point in drafting such a bill, since the Administration is no longer pushing its plan to propose contingency tax measures that would go into effect in late 1985 if needed to reduce the burgeoning deficit. The gathering economic recovery reduces the need for new taxes. Even so, dropping the contingency tax will increase the projected 1986 deficit from $154.6 billion to $196.2 billion.

In other action last week, the House was grim as it formally censured Republican Daniel Crane of Illinois and Democrat Gerry Studds of Massachusetts for sexual misconduct with 17-year-old congressional pages. The House Ethics Committee had recommended that the two be given only reprimands, the lightest possible punishment. But prodded by conservative Congressmen, the full House opted for a harsher penalty. Under censure, a lawmaker is stripped of any committee chairmanship; Studds lost his position as head of the subcommittee on the Coast Guard.

In the investigation into how Reagan's political advisers got Jimmy Carter's debate briefing book, Michigan Congressman Donald Albosta, angry at White House refusals to give his subcommittee total access to all campaign files, threatened to use his subpoena power. The White House offered Albosta copies of documents turned up by the FBI, and said it would provide wider access only if Albosta also looks into dirty tricks in the Carter campaign. ■

Passengers Blake Bell, left, and Dewey Parker in Miami after foiling a skyjack attempt

Making the Skies Unfriendly

The FAA moves against Cuba-bound hijackers

Northwest Airlines Flight 714, bound from Tampa to Miami, was barely ten minutes off the ground when a slightly built man in a baseball cap, brandishing a hunting knife, wrestled a stewardess into the seat next to him and demanded that the plane go to Cuba. The captain of the Boeing 727 dutifully changed course. Across the aisle, Miami Cargo Shipper Dewey Parker silently signaled to Blake Bell, the passenger in the window seat next to the hostage stewardess. "On the count of three, he grabbed the hijacker's right arm and I grabbed his left," recounted Parker, "and then we got assistance." Tied up in seat belts and an oxygen mask cord, the would-be sky pirate, a former political prisoner in Cuba named Rodolfo Bueno Cruz, was arrested upon arrival in Miami. "I don't criticize it," said FBI Agent Jim Freeman of the risky rescue, "but I don't recommend it for everyone."

GILBERT—MIAMI HERALD

Would-be Air Pirate Cruz

The foiled attempt came one day after the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) announced an intensified campaign to combat a rash of southbound skyjackings. Since May 1 eight planes have been hijacked to Cuba, including two last week. Among the new steps: more thorough and frequent baggage checks, the installation of 14 "state of the art" X-ray machines at Miami International Airport, and a beefed-up force of FAA inspectors at other South Florida airports.

Potentially more effective are FAA-sponsored public service announcements, broadcast in Spanish and English, that will warn Cubans of the long prison terms they face in their homeland for high-altitude high jinks. "We are trying to tell them if they want to get back to see Mommy and Daddy, the only time they'll be able to see them is on visiting days," said FAA Spokesman Jack Barker. Indeed, Cuba is uncompromisingly harsh on its airborne returnees, handing out sentences of up to 20 years for air piracy. "There are no air-conditioned cells with televisions in Cuban jails," said Jim Ewing, spokesman for Delta Air Lines, one of the hijacked carriers. "They're tough."

The warnings may fall on deaf ears, regardless. Most of the eight recent hijackings were carried out by homesick refugees, part of the wave of 125,000 Cuban exiles who washed up on South Florida's shores during the 1980 *Mariel* boatlift. Disillusioned with their new life in the U.S., they discount talk of prison terms as American propaganda. At present, Havana refuses to do the one thing State Department officials believe would deter potential sky bandits: extradite them back to the U.S. for prosecution. Cuba has done so only once, in 1980, and the two returned hijackers were sentenced to 40 years apiece in federal prison.

U.S. airline representatives applauded the FAA's redoubled efforts, but were skeptical that the pirates could ever be foiled entirely. "If they say they can stop hijackings," said Delta's Ewing, "let's hope they can. We're taking a wait-and-see attitude." Indeed, a preboarding body search and stroll through a metal detector failed to reveal Hijacker Cruz's knife. Said Jim Ashlock, spokesman for Eastern Air Lines, whose jets have been involved in three of the last eight Havana landings: "If we had better techniques for preventing hijackings, we'd be using them." ■

Cap Gets Tough

Landing on military suppliers

"If there have been wrongdoings . . . that in any way defrauded the Government or caused waste . . . I don't have the slightest hesitancy in asking the Department of Justice to take whatever remedies are appropriate to deal with the situation." With that warning, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger last week announced a long-overdue crackdown on military purchasing agents and on contractors who may have charged inflated prices for spare parts.

No criminal prosecutions were planned, at least for the moment. But Weinberger said that an officer at the Naval Training and Equipment Center (NTEC) in Orlando, Fla., would be reassigned to another post. The officer, whose name was not revealed, had purchased 348 items, including lamps and microcircuits, from the Sperry Corp. at a cost of $80,204 rather than from Pentagon inventories, where they would have cost $3,658.

Weinberger's crackdown was prompted in part by a Pentagon report that disclosed scandalous price increases—as much as 3,725%—for spare parts being sold to the military. Critics derided the disciplinary steps as mere wrist slaps, but Weinberger disagrees: "We want to do something to ensure that we don't continue contracts like these." ■

Tough on Cap

Scrubbing an inspection trip

Four days after chastising the military for buying expensive spare parts, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger was scheduled to fly to California in a well-appointed VC-9C. Purpose: a two-hour visit to the Oakland Naval Supply Center. But there was another reason to head west: a two-day stop at the annual gathering of the exclusive Bohemian Club near San Francisco.

Set to travel with Weinberger were Under Secretary of Defense Richard DeLauer and Navy Secretary John Lehman. The projected cost of the nine-hour, round-trip flight: $21,807, not including the expense of keeping the jet on stand-by while the officials were at Bohemian Grove.

A Pentagon spokesman said that the VC-9C, carrying sophisticated communications equipment, was necessary because "the Secretary of Defense is in the national military command authority chain. As such he must be instantly contactable at all times." Half an hour before takeoff last Friday, the flight, which had attracted national press attention, was scrubbed. Pentagon officials said the press of business kept Weinberger grounded. ■

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A pair of Israeli Merkava tanks in southern Lebanon: day by day the occupation grows more unpopular at home

ZOOM 77

MIDDLE EAST

A Move Toward Partition

As Gemayel visits the U.S., Begin approves a partial pullout in Lebanon

The timing could not have been less apt. Just as Lebanese President Amin Gemayel arrived in Washington last week, in a desperate bid for U.S. help in rebuilding his shattered country, Israel took a step that could make that task virtually impossible. In a unanimous vote, the Israeli Cabinet approved a partial withdrawal of the country's forces in Lebanon. The pullback, which should be completed by October, could lead to what the U.S. most fears: the *de facto* partitioning of Lebanon between Israel and Syria, leaving Gemayel's government in control of only the area around Beirut.

The Israeli decision came less than 24 hours after Prime Minister Menachem Begin canceled a trip to Washington planned for this week. The meeting was to have been the first between Begin and Ronald Reagan since June 1982. It would no doubt have given the President an opportunity to express his reservations about Israel's redeployment plans. Begin, who has been in poor health, cited only "personal reasons" for his decision.

As if to underscore Lebanon's frailty, the level of violence escalated during the week. More than 20 people were killed Friday and 65 were wounded as first Beirut Airport and then many of the capital's suburbs were bombarded by rival Christian Phalangist and Druze artillerymen. A U.S. Navy air controller and two Marines were among those injured at the airport, where the 1,200 Marines who are part of the four-nation peace-keeping force have their headquarters. Walid Jumblatt, leader of the Druze sect, took "full responsibility" for the airport attack. On Saturday he and two other Lebanese opposition leaders announced that they had formed a Syrian-backed "National Salvation Front" to challenge Gemayel's leadership.

On his way to the U.S., Gemayel stopped in France to confer with King Hussein of Jordan, who was vacationing near Nice. In Washington the Lebanese President warned his hosts that if the U.S. did not persuade both Israel and Syria to withdraw their troops from Lebanon soon, his fragile government could collapse. Gemayel also expressed his opposition to Israel's redeployment plan. Said he: "The partial withdrawal gives the impression, unfortunately, and I can't believe it, that the U.S. effort has failed."

Few officials in Washington could legitimately disagree. Last May Secretary of State George Shultz negotiated a Lebanese-Israeli accord providing for the withdrawal of Israel's 36,000 troops from Lebanon on the condition that Syria also pulled out its 60,000 men. But Syrian President Hafez Assad, who has received some $3.5 billion worth of arms from the Soviet Union over the past year, has refused to go along with the arrangement.

The Israeli decision guaranteed that the main topic of discussion between Gemayel and the U.S. would be the partial military withdrawal. Both Reagan and Gemayel disapproved of the decision, but the U.S. was prepared to go along with

it. In a series of meetings that stretched over three days, U.S. officials assured Gemayel that they would stress to the Israelis that any redeployment should be the first stage of a complete pullout. To assuage Gemayel further, the Administration also agreed to transform $150 million in loans to the Lebanese into outright grants. But by the time Reagan met with Gemayel for two hours last Friday, it was clear that the U.S. had no new strategies. Said a senior American diplomat: "Frankly, the best we can do for Lebanon is work with them to restore a sense of momentum on complete withdrawal."

In the absence of fresh ideas, Reagan opted for fresh faces. With Gemayel standing beside him, the President announced that Special Envoy Philip Habib, who has been the Administration's principal troubleshooter in the Middle East, would be replaced by Robert C. McFarlane, Deputy National Security Adviser. Habib, 63, was described as leaving to pursue "private commitments," but in reality he had outlived his usefulness. The Israelis distrusted him and, more important, the Syrians flatly refused to see him. McFarlane, 46, has little expertise in the region, but the former Marine colonel has won bipartisan praise for his work at the National Security Council. Since McFarlane will retain his present post, Middle East policy will now be brought more firmly under the control of NSC Adviser William Clark. McFarlane admitted that no new approaches were in the offing. "We'll try harder," he said, "but there is no fundamental change in strategy."

The new Israeli military line will probably run eastward from the mouth of the Awali River, 17 miles south of Beirut, then fishhook north into the Bekaa Valley *(see map)*. No withdrawal will take place on the eastern front, where Israeli troops face the Syrians. But by moving away from the Beirut suburbs and parts of the Chouf Mountains southeast of the city, the Israelis hope to avoid being trapped in any crossfire between the Lebanese Christian and Druze militias.

The move will shorten supply lines and make the Israeli forces less vulnerable to attack. But there are political advantages too. A partial withdrawal, Begin supporters could argue, is better than no withdrawal. Since the end of the war in Lebanon, 155 Israelis have died in the country and 2,600 have been injured. As a result, the continuing Israeli presence has eroded Begin's domestic support. In a poll published last week in the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*, only 30.9% named Begin as the person best suited to be Prime Minister, a sharp decline from 45% six weeks earlier.

Begin's decision to cancel his trip puzzled Israelis and Americans alike. For months he has reportedly been depressed by the apparent failure of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, as well as by the death last November of his wife of 43 years. His grief worsened five weeks ago when his trusted friend Deputy Prime Minister Simcha Ehrlich died suddenly. As an aide put it, "If you're not in the mood to sing, can you sing?"

Reagan with Gemayel at the White House

If Begin is despondent enough to back out of a trip to the U.S., members of Israel's opposition Labor Party were asking last week, is he well enough to stay on as Prime Minister? According to Begin's aides, the answer is yes. "It's no secret that since his wife's death and the Lebanese casualties, he is not a happy man," says an adviser. "It has changed his mood. But it does not mean he cannot operate." Others noted that the Prime Minister may simply have wanted to avoid discussing the planned redeployment with Reagan face to face. Begin appeared more subdued than usual last week as he addressed the Knesset on the country's problems. Arriving at the Knesset, he nonetheless greeted a colleague by poking fun at the rumors. "So, how do I look? Alive or dead?"

Still, Begin's habits have changed. He goes to his office in the mornings but spends most afternoons at the Prime Minister's residence in Jerusalem. He delegates more tasks to subordinates. No longer does he dominate meetings. "It used to be when you were in a conversation with him, he would do 85% of the talking and you would do 15%," a diplomat observes. "Now it's just the reverse."

On subjects that interest Begin, according to a Cabinet minister, he is lucid and alert, but on topics that do not engage him he can be "apathetic." Begin has occasionally had such spells before, however, and he has always managed to snap out of them. Says a Western ambassador, pointing to his head: "It hasn't changed him up here. He's still got it up there."

As Beirut buried its latest dead, Lebanese authorities and Western diplomats suspected that the most recent attacks on the Christian quarters were the work not only of Druze militiamen but of their Syrian backers. In retaliation, perhaps, the Druze-owned Summerland Hotel was bombed last week, killing six and injuring 20. By striking at the hotel, the bombers attacked a symbol of Beirut's will to endure; Israeli shells nearly wrecked the complex during last year's war, but Owner Raja Saab rebuilt it in five months at a cost of $10 million. The hotel and its beach club became a gathering place for all religious factions, a placid oasis in a devastated terrain. The Israelis also had reason to note an irony in the violence last week. For the first time since their invasion of Lebanon more than 13 months ago, several villages in western Galilee, an area of northern Israel bordering on Lebanon, were hit by Katyusha rockets fired from southern Lebanon. The purpose of Operation Peace for Galilee, as the June 6, 1982, invasion of Lebanon was called, had been to ensure that northern Israel would never again be subject to such shelling.

There was, however, one bit of good news from the Middle East last week. David Dodge, 61, acting president of the American University of Beirut, suddenly reappeared, alive and well, after having been abducted from the campus last summer. Kidnaped by pro-Iranian Shi'ite Muslim militants, Dodge was reportedly first held in the Iranian embassy in Beirut, and then spirited to the Bekaa Valley of eastern Lebanon. At some point, his captors apparently took him into Syria and then to Iran, where he stayed for several months. During his meeting with Assad in Damascus on July 6, Secretary of State Shultz is said to have asked the Syrian President to try to win Dodge's release. Assad was a logical intermediary: not only are Syrian-Iranian relations harmonious, but the President's younger brother Rifaat heads Syria's security forces and has close ties with the militant group that seized Dodge. How Syria eventually intervened remains a mystery, but the White House publicly thanked Assad and Brother Rifaat for their "humanitarian efforts." For one day last week, at least, Washington considered Assad somewhat of a hero. —*By James Kelly.*

Reported by Harry Kelly/Jerusalem and Johanna McGeary/Washington

The guest who declined: Begin in the Knesset last week

"If you're not in the mood to sing, can you sing?" asks an aide

Jaruzelski, bottom right, sits in the Sejm as members unanimously approve a limited amnesty

POLAND

The Appearance of Change

Martial law is lifted, but the government's powers increase

Without his forbidding dark glasses, speaking calmly, General Wojciech Jaruzelski seemed eager to soften his stony image as he began addressing the Sejm, Poland's rubber-stamp parliament. "The introduction of martial law was not a universal medicine for our illnesses," he declared. "It was an act of defense, a necessity." The general then made a long-anticipated announcement: after 19 months, martial law would be lifted the next day, Poland's National Day. But Jaruzelski also issued a stern warning: "Any attempts at antistate activity will be curbed no less aggressively than during martial law."

Indeed, the lifting of martial law will have a negligible effect on most Poles. Earlier in the week, the Sejm approved a constitutional amendment that gave the government substantial new powers. The Premier was granted the authority to declare a state of emergency whenever necessary, and the definition of "antistate activities" was broadened. In addition parliament passed several measures that would apply during a 29-month "transition" period. It set the official work week at 48 hours, eliminating the free Saturdays won by Solidarity. It also gave the government the right to force people who quit their jobs to take new employment for up to a year at the lowest legal wage. The Sejm had intended to draw up new regulations giving the authorities freer rein to make arrests. But Jozef Cardinal Glemp, Poland's Roman Catholic Primate, issued a letter of protest, reminding the authorities that a further tightening of the legal noose would run counter to the spirit of Pope John Paul II's meetings with Jaruzelski last month. As a result, parliament agreed to reconsider the proposals.

Just before Jaruzelski spoke, the Sejm gave its final approval to an amnesty bill that, claimed Deputy Minister of Justice Tadeusz Skóra, would apply to 190 political prisoners and 465 persons awaiting trial. All women, all persons who were under 21 at the time of their arrest, and anyone serving a sentence of three years or less would be released. Those with prison terms of more than three years would have their sentences cut in half. Not covered are 60 former leaders of Solidarity and of the Committee for Social Self-Defense (K.O.R.), a dissident group.

In an attempt to lure out of hiding the 60 to 80 Solidarity activists who went underground when martial law was declared, the government promised not to prosecute any activists who turned themselves in before Oct. 31. But Zbigniew Bujak, former director of Solidarity's Warsaw branch, declared that the union's leadership would wait for a full, unconditional amnesty. Former Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa, who was released from detention last November, said that the government's new measures were worse than martial law and would only "dig a wider gulf between the government and the governed."

Jaruzelski hopes that the government's moves will persuade the U.S. and other Western nations to lift economic sanctions and help Poland avoid defaulting on its $26 billion foreign debt. Although Washington had made ending martial law a precondition for lifting sanctions, President Reagan reacted to last week's news with caution. "We're going to go by deeds, not words," he told a White House press conference. "What we want to be on guard for is having a cosmetic change in which they replace martial law with equally onerous regulations." ■

ITALY

Out of Sight

Strange motives, odd methods

Repeatedly, the male voice crackled over the telephone lines. On each occasion the message was as unequivocal as it was unusual. Emanuela Orlandi, a 15-year-old girl who was kidnaped last month in Rome, would be freed if Mehmet Ali Agca, the Turk who is serving a life sentence for trying to assassinate Pope John Paul II in 1981, was released. The girl's captors threatened to kill her unless their demands were met by midnight last Wednesday. But after the deadline passed the kidnapers remained out of touch, and Emanuela out of sight.

The abductors' approach has been decidedly bizarre. After Agca told reporters that he was happy to remain in jail, his apparent benefactors issued an almost incoherent communiqué dismissing his statement as "irrelevant." They have consistently refused to provide conclusive proof that Emanuela, the daughter of a Vatican City messenger, is still alive. In addition, they have addressed most of their demands to the Vatican even though, as one official there conceded, the Holy See "is powerless to meet their demands." Having "sincerely pardoned" Agca after the shooting, the Pope has called five times for Emanuela's release. Legally, John Paul can do nothing. Only Italian President Alessandro Pertini can order Agca's release, but the Italian government observes a strict policy of not negotiating with kidnapers.

Emanuela

The motives remain as mysterious as the method. The kidnapers have not demanded money, nor have they spiced their messages with ideological rantings or political rationales. Instead, they have identified themselves only as "people who are interested in Agca's liberation." Some Romans speculate that they may be agents from Bulgaria or even the Soviet Union, the countries Agca has implicated in the papal assassination attempt.

The kidnapers' shadowy maneuvers have caused widespread concern and confusion. After four newspapers carried a rambling communiqué from Emanuela's abductors, a Roman magistrate took the unprecedented measure of forbidding newspapers to print such missives. Following an outcry from the press, that order was modified within 24 hours. Meanwhile, two Italian citizens have reportedly offered themselves as hostages in exchange for the captured girl. Emanuela's family has hired a lawyer to deal directly with her captors, and at the abductors' request, the Vatican's Secretary of State, Agostino Cardinal Casaroli, sits by a special telephone, awaiting further messages. ■

FRANCE

Increasingly Divided Loyalties

Mitterrand's Communist partners side with Moscow on missiles

It has never been easy to serve two masters, but that has not stopped France's Communist Party from trying. As junior members of the ruling leftist alliance, French Communists have dutifully supported Socialist President François Mitterrand. At the same time, they have remained as faithful as possible to the Soviet Union. But because Moscow is demanding that France's 98 nuclear weapons be counted in the U.S.-Soviet negotiations in Geneva on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe, France's Communists have found their loyalties increasingly divided.

In a speech to party activists in Paris last week, French Communist Leader Georges Marchais openly challenged the Mitterrand government's position that France's *force de frappe* is simply not up for negotiation. "The French nuclear force cannot fail to be taken into consideration," Marchais argued. "How can we believe it is possible to say to the Americans, 'In case of mishap you can depend on us,' and then say to the Soviets, 'You do not have the right to count us, neither on one side or the other'?"

Marchais's challenge came at an awkward moment for Mitterrand, who had traveled to a forest retreat in Alsace to discuss the Geneva negotiations with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The French President refused to be drawn further into the debate, noting only that he and Kohl had "breathed the fresh air; looked at the trees, the flowers and the sky; and talked a lot." But there was no getting around the fact that the missile disagreement was putting strains on the leftist coalition.

The Marchais speech seemed to mark a shift in the French Communist position on missiles in Europe. Until now, the Communists have endorsed Mitterrand's view that NATO should deploy new U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe to counter the arsenal of Soviet SS-20 missiles targeted on Western Europe if the U.S. and the Soviets do not reach an agreement in Geneva by the end of this year. Indeed, after Mitterrand spoke out strongly in favor of the NATO position last January in a speech to the West German Bundestag, Marchais expressed his "total accord," while stressing the importance of continued negotiations.

The French Communists have since moved closer to Moscow on the missile issue. During a visit to the Kremlin two weeks ago, Marchais joined Soviet President Yuri Andropov in calling for "the balanced reduction of nuclear forces." They added the proviso that all missiles systems be "taken into consideration," a clear reference to Moscow's demand that France's independent nuclear arsenal be counted in Geneva. The Soviets, it appears, had successfully enlisted Marchais in their propaganda offensive.

After Marchais's visit to the Kremlin, Mitterrand stuck to his view that the French nuclear force should not be included in the Geneva talks because its purpose is to defend France, not the Alliance. Said the French President: "Everything that touches our national independence and territorial defense is decided neither in Moscow nor in Washington nor in Geneva. It is decided in Paris and by me."

Despite the harsh tone, there are no signs that the Socialists and the Communists are moving toward an open break. However uncomfortable it may sometimes be for them, the Communists, who hold four ministerial portfolios, grudgingly support Mitterrand's economic austerity plan and recent incentives for private enterprise. They insist that they will remain in the government, come what may. Said Marchais: "Those who think that we are preparing to leave the government because of all this are entertaining false illusions." ■

JOEL LUMIER

Mitterrand and Kohl discuss nuclear weapons over lunch in Alsace last week; Marchais, inset

A Soviet gunboat chases the *Rainbow Warrior*

SOVIET UNION

Hairy Adventure

To Siberia and back

The *Rainbow Warrior* is a tough old British trawler whose blunt bow has frequently poked into waters where it has not been welcome. It belongs to Greenpeace, an international environmental group that opposes whaling. Last week Greenpeace carried out its most daring protest yet. The ship narrowly escaped being captured, but seven Greenpeace members, six Americans and one Canadian, were detained by Soviet authorities.

The Greenpeace escapade was planned to coincide with the annual meeting of the International Whaling Commission in Brighton, England. With U.S. support, the commission aims to ban commercial whaling completely by 1986. Greenpeace believed that the Soviets were violating the commission's recommendation that only native groups be allowed to hunt the California gray whale. With 23 men and women aboard, the *Rainbow Warrior* steamed across the Bering Strait to the Siberian whaling village of Lorino. Six Greenpeace members went ashore to hand out leaflets to workers at the whale-processing plant. Suddenly a contingent of Soviet soldiers arrived and arrested the six. A Greenpeace member who was still aboard the *Rainbow Warrior* grabbed film that other members had shot and jumped into a motorized rubber boat to rush it back to Alaska. But a Soviet helicopter swooped down and plucked him out of the boat.

Minutes later two Soviet ships appeared and gave chase. "Getting quite hairy," the crew radioed Greenpeace headquarters in San Francisco. "They're playing chicken with us." Only after the *Rainbow Warrior* was well into international waters did the Soviet ships turn back. U.S. and Canadian officials interceded on behalf of the seven, and at week's end, Moscow released the protesters. ■

特別号

A Nation In Search Of Itself

The name alone evokes modernity: dials, lights and numbers. The ancient civilization, with its Shinto priests and fragile poems, is more closely associated with all that is new in our times than any place on earth. Even the New World, now graying at the temples, regularly peers east to assess the future, to note where today's advances are going for finishing touches. For its part, the zealous student-nation, famous for raiding others' inspirations, has all but run out of models. The model is itself. Looking outward, Japan sees what it has become since Hiroshima: a source of fury and wonder to Western industries; a pressure point in the U.S.-Soviet staring match; a power without arms. Looking inward, Japan sees old ways shaken and new ones moving at so hectic a pace that the nation's next volcano may erupt not from the quiescent cone of Mount Fuji but from the people themselves, who could be outrunning their sun.

What is this place, this center of international attention, worry, amazement? Who are these people, admired but not loved, who have made technology their art and commerce their religion? The characteristics collide: democracy and hierarchy; formality and chaos; a cramped infinity; cooperative free enterprise; ceremony with ruthlessness; the overfed wrestler, the shrunken tree. Above all else, the insularity of the group tied to a fear of being isolated.

In this issue, TIME explores some islands in the Pacific to determine their climate, shape, depth, inhabitants—and how far away they really are. ■

All the Hazards and Threats of Success

After their miracle, the Japanese fear "advanced nations' disease"

The two characters above, evoking the island nation's mythic origins from the sun, represent Nihon, Japan

Outside the Ryoanji temple, the newest Japanese surfaces shine. The taxi drivers bustle, sweeping huge feather dusters over their cars, flicking specks from the bright metal. The ritual, a writer once remarked, makes them look like chambermaids in the first act of a French farce. But it is utterly Japanese, a set piece: the drivers handle their dusters like samurai. The scene is a sort of cartoon of the busy, fastidious superego that is supposed to preside in the Japanese psyche. The drivers even wear white gloves. There is probably not a dirty taxicab in Japan.

These taxis in the old capital city of Kyoto wait outside the doors of the ineffable, of another Japan entirely. The Ryoanji temple's Zen rock garden—five austerely abstract boulder mounds set in a sea of curried sand pebbles—is a celebrated spiritual masterpiece. The garden is absolutely still, and yet tense with an obscurely bullying profundity. A guide whispers the sermons in the stones, the allegories: the rocks are, maybe, tigers swimming across the sea. Or they are whales rocking in the deep. Or perhaps they are these mysterious islands themselves: Japan. The abbot of Ryoanji, in a perfect eloquence of abnegation, wrote that the place should be called simply the "Garden of Nothingness."

The Zen silence is shattered. A swarm of schoolchildren in black uniforms enters, frisking and chattering. They horse around obliviously in the timelessness. Their teacher bellows at them through a battery-powered megaphone: "All right, now: Meditate!"

A Westerner fidgets whenever he is asked to be impressed by nothingness. A Japanese is a good deal more at home with the native mysteries. But Japan almost always involves a certain intellectual wind shear. What one sees when contemplating those islands often depends upon the culture of the beholder.

Somehow that will have to change. The rest of the world must begin to perceive what the Japanese perceive. And the Japanese must reciprocate. The global economy cannot run on so many cultural subjectivities. Japan has become too powerful and too crucially interconnected in the world to be so little understood, or so little understanding. Akio Morita, the cofounder of Sony, likes to tell his employees that the company is a "fate-sharing vessel." They are all in the same boat. The Japanese for most of their history have thought of their islands as the fate-sharing vessel. The definition of the boat must now be expanded. It must learn to make accommodations for the world at large.

This will be difficult. Japan's culture, always kinetic, is now veering into territory where it has never been before. The Japanese postwar economic miracle is cresting. Japan is a fascinating success, as a business and as a society. It is prosperous and famously homogeneous, safe and civil, bound together by a social contract that is startlingly effective. Yet, paradoxically, Japan's very success has grown threatening, its future shadowed and complicated. The Japanese face new problems, inside, among their densely close-woven tribe, and outside, with the rest of the world.

The Japanese have been known in the past for being able to turn their civilization on a dime. After 215 years of deliberate feudal isolation during the Tokugawa period, Japan threw itself open in 1854. It was, wrote Arthur Koestler, like breaking the window of a pressurized cabin: the Japanese crashed out into the world devouring everything that had been done or thought in the rest of the planet during their long encapsulation (the late Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution). Rarely has there been an ingestion of foreign influence so smoothly accomplished. The Japanese did something of the same thing after World War II. Military fascism did not work. The entire people switched over with amazing cultural equilibrium to democracy under a constitution partly devised by a group of young lawyers on Douglas MacArthur's staff.

According to the stereotype, the Japanese are merely clever copiers of other people's inventions. Now the Japanese find that they are on the verge of joining the leaders of the world. They do so almost reluctantly; the role makes them uncomfortable. Now they must do the inventing. Says Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone: "We must formulate a society for which there is no precedent in any other country."

The new international troubles of the Japanese arise from their doing almost too well at their economic ventures. After 1945, Japan's industrial plant was in ashes. MacArthur said that he hoped eventually to rebuild the country to the point where it would become "the Switzerland of Asia." Today, Japan is the second most powerful economy in the free world. Its trillion-dollar-a-year industrial machine accounts for 10% of the world's output. By 1990, the Japanese may achieve a per capita gross national product that surpasses that of the U.S. As a 19th century French tourist said of another island people, the English: *"Mon Dieu, comme ils travaillent!"*

Japan's best friends in the world are still the Americans, a fact that should give the Japanese pause. For even Americans view the Japanese with suspicion and ambivalence, with fascination and admiration and resentment intermingled. A poll by the Los Angeles *Times* last spring found that 68% of Americans favor trade restrictions to protect American industries

The four major islands of Japan, plus 3,918 smaller islands, comprise 145,808 sq. mi., about the size of Montana. Slightly more than 70% of the land is mountainous, 67% is forested, 15% devoted to agriculture, and only 18% is usable as living space for the population of 119 million. Other noteworthy statistics: population of metropolitan Tokyo: 11,736,214. G.N.P.: $1.1 trillion. Voting age: 20. Telephones: 44 per 100 people. Cars: 195 per 1,000 people. Unemployment rate: 2.5%. Inflation rate: 2.1%.

- CAMERAS
- CHEMICALS
- COMPUTERS
- FISHERIES
- IRON AND STEEL
- OIL REFINERIES
- BULLET TRAIN
- RICE
- SHIPBUILDING
- TEXTILES
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- VEHICLES
- WATCHES

and jobs. The American trade deficit with Japan could well reach a menacing $21 billion this year. It results partly from superior Japanese competitiveness and products, partly from unfair Japanese barriers to trade, and partly from an overvalued dollar and undervalued yen. Most Democratic presidential candidates, including Walter Mondale, have courted the labor vote by urging new kinds of protectionism. A former Japanese ambassador to the U.S., Nobuhiko Ushiba, said in April that he had "never seen the mood on Capitol Hill as ugly as it is now toward the Japanese." Unemployed Americans focus their anger upon the Japanese, at least when they are not blaming Ronald Reagan. In West Virginia, a charity raised money by selling sledgehammer hits on a Toyota. A recession bumper sticker read: WHEN YOU BOUGHT YOUR JAPANESE CAR, 10 AMERICANS LOST THEIR JOBS.

Other peoples tend to be even more critical. If the protectionist noises in America amount to a sort of restive snarling here and there across the countryside, such sounds abroad are full screams that sometimes translate into government policy. The French last October began funneling Japanese videotape-recorder imports through a tiny customs station at Poitiers. Some 200,000 items were blocked by delays for inspection and other red tape until the ban was lifted in April this year. As other economies around the world feel increasingly threatened, their fears could set off waves of protectionism that might cripple the world economy.

The Zen Rock Garden at the Ryoanji temple in Kyoto

Tigers swimming across the sea. Or whales rocking in the deep. Or even these mysterious islands themselves.

The world looks at Japan through one lens, the Japanese see themselves through another. Japan is a global force with an insular mentality, a superior organism that still harbors the soul of a small, isolated land. Living on their archipelago in the "Pacific Ring of Fire," vulnerable as always to earthquakes and typhoons, virtually unarmed, without any significant natural resources, dependent on the outside world for oil and food, the Japanese have a hard time seeing themselves as any kind of threat. "In our history of 2,000 years," says Taro Aso, a member of the Japanese parliament, "this is the first time that the Japanese have not had to worry about poverty. We are *nouveau riche*, a nation of farmers a short time ago. It is difficult to accept international responsibilities when you have an inferiority complex."

The Japanese also argue, correctly in part, that the Americans use them as scapegoats, blaming them for the failures—managerial, cultural—of American business and labor. Says Brookings Institution Economist Lawrence Krause: "The damage that the Japanese do to the U.S. is trivial compared to what we do to ourselves—through bad management and bad planning."

The Japanese approach to other nations has grown far more sophisticated recently. Japanese businessmen have led the way. They have traveled the world and studied its languages. They have worked its trade routes with single-minded energy and curiosity, selling their wares, studying everything, plundering the remotest cultures and factories for information. They are Oriental Vikings armed with cameras and a samurai's resistance to jet lag. Prime Minister Nakasone has displayed a newly extraverted international style for a Japanese leader. He has, among other things, awakened what is for the Japanese the painful subject of their rearming, or at any rate contributing a greater share to the defense of the non-Communist world.

Japanese problems at home are also the complicating side effects of success. Many Japanese fear that they are beginning to suffer from what they call "advanced nations' disease," though the attack is not yet acute. In a recent poll, 89% of Japanese described themselves as happy with their lives. The present undoubtedly looks handsome compared with the bleak aftermath of the war. Many of the men who are now in the middle management of Mitsui and Mitsubishi were babies being fed a grain of rice at a time in 1946. Morita and Masaru Ibuka founded Sony that year by scrounging around the firebombed ruins of Tokyo for parts with which to build broadcasting equipment.

But if the Japanese are happy, why does Japan hurt so much in so many different ways? It is as if the Japanese have been single-mindedly intent, since the catastrophic end of the war, upon survival and then success. Now, in the fulfillment of so many of their ambitions, they have raised their eyes and looked about them, and seen that success has a price.

Everywhere in Japan, one senses an intricate serenity that comes to a people who know precisely what to expect from each other. But one also senses—occasionally, distantly—a disconcerted, vaguely frantic emotional vibration, a feeling of dislocation and alienation and incipient loss. The Japanese are almost obsessively aware of their problems; it is possible that they exaggerate them in order to execute a subtle kind of psychological evasion—the domestic concerns relieving them, implicitly, of larger international responsibilities.

Yet the difficulties are real enough. It is a myth much advertised in the West, for example, that the vast majority of Japanese workers enjoy lifetime employment, a fondly cooperative relationship with management and a mutual delight in the company song. True, there is less than 3% unemployment. But, in fact, Japan has a schizophrenic business system, a dual economy. The myth applies to 30% of it, in the high-tech and highly productive companies. But the other 70% of Japanese workers labor in smaller, considerably less efficient industries. There, they receive low wages and few financial benefits, if any. Such workers bounce from job to job within that traditional economy; last year there were 17,000 bankruptcies in Japan.

The Japanese, in their pursuit of commercial success, have

neglected a thousand social and civic details. They need the parks and playgrounds and sidewalks that they never got around to building. Their lives are often almost unbearably constricted. They commute two, three or four hours a day to work from claustrophobia-inducing apartments out in suburban regions that look like an interminable Bridgeport smudging into the outskirts of Albuquerque. Some 75% of the population lives in the narrow Pacific corridor from Tokyo to Hiroshima. Land prices are impossibly high (more than $100 per sq. ft. in suburban Tokyo). Newly married couples despair of ever owning a house (a typical two-room Tokyo apartment measuring 400 sq. ft. costs more than $83,000). The clutter of Japanese life is not only difficult, it is sometimes noxious. Lakes and swamps are polluted. For a people with an exquisite and even rhapsodic appreciation of nature, the Japanese are capable of casually littering and ravaging it.

Even though much of the Japanese gene pool originally derives from Korea, the 669,800 Koreans who live in Japan, some of whose families have been in the country for generations, are subjected to systematic discrimination. They rarely advance to the better jobs in Japanese corporations. The situation of those privately referred to as eta is worse. They are the Japanese Untouchables. Even though they are physically indistinguishable from other Japanese, the 2 million to 3 million eta are frequently relegated to ghettos and menial work. Few marry outside their caste (Japan has a class of private detectives who specialize in checking into these matters), and most are destined to spend their lives in a strange shadow. The reasons for this degradation are obscure. It may be because they are descendants of people who, centuries ago, performed what was regarded as unclean work, slaughtering animals for leather, tending graves. Eta means much filth; the word has been officially struck from the language. The polite term these days for the eta is *Burakumin*, hamlet people.

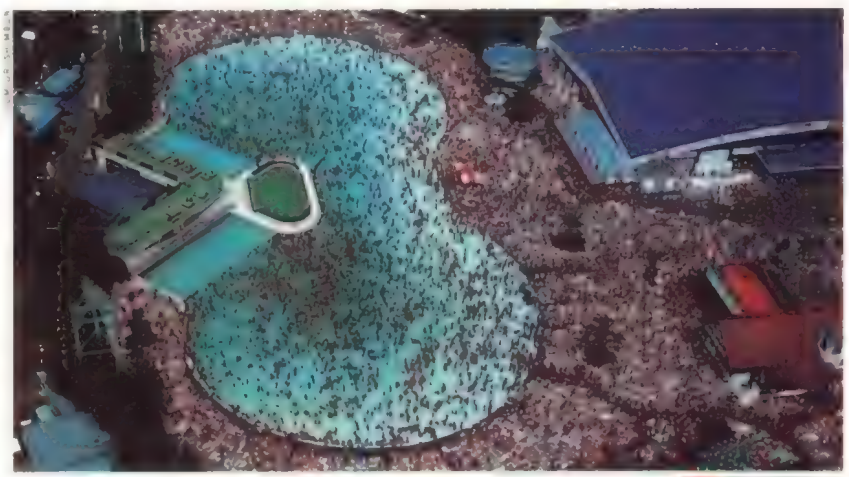
One major, if more subtle, Japanese problem is simply actuarial. Japan is getting very old, very fast. In the next 35 years, the country will undergo a stunning demographic transformation. By 2000, 16% of the population will be 65 years old or older, up from 9% in 1980. It will increase to 21.8% by 2020. By comparison, 11% of the U.S. population will be 65 or older in 2000, 15% in 2020.

A Confucian society traditionally reveres its aged. The elderly in Japan are still treated with far greater respect than they are in most Western countries. But the burden of providing for them in the future may shake the Japanese conscience. The centuries-long custom whereby sons give their parents a home and care for them in old age is difficult to maintain in a country where housing is so crowded. The Japanese household is getting smaller, embracing two generations, or only one, instead of three. Wives are discovering the pleasures and independence of life without a mother-in-law's demanding, authoritarian presence. A loneliness and isolation, more typical of the West than of Japan, has settled in upon many of the aged. Groups of old people have staged repeated marches on the Ministry of Health and Welfare in Tokyo, demanding more services

The middle-aged too are feeling afflicted, though somewhat less despairingly. One Japanese writer, Hitoshi Kato, recently quoted a middle-aged steel company executive who sounded rather like the American *Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* of a generation ago: "We work hard, but even we don't know what we work for. Those of the war generation experienced hunger, and that spurred them to work with a passion . . . But look at us. The corporate framework is already established, and growth has its limits. The prospects for promotion are limited too. We just work to support our wives and children and meet our mortgage payments."

Some Japanese still choose a traditional form of release: the violence done to oneself. Japan's suicide rate, about 15 per 100,000, is higher than that of the U.S., though lower than those of most North or East European countries. Suicide in Japan was long surrounded by a romantic and aesthetic aura that arose from the samurai tradition. Now it seems an especially unhappy and unheroic spectacle. A group called the Japan Association for the Prevention of Parent-Child Suicide has been established to try to discourage such tragedies. Some 400 occur every year. In recent weeks a man threw himself and his two children into a river, a family of four drove into a river, a mother strangled her child and then took her own life. There is a pattern: the parents cannot pay back loans or cannot endure the financial pressures of their lives. One psychiatrist observes, "Japanese kill themselves for more or less altruistic reasons, not out of egoism or self-pity." And they kill the children to spare them the pain of growing up without their parents. Lately police have found dozens of bodies in the forests around Mount Fuji. People travel from all over Japan to commit suicide there. The place has been named "Suicide Forest." The police have posted blunt notices there that killing oneself is not romantic, that bodies are eaten by animals or decay and can be smelled 50 meters away.

It is their young who most trouble the Japanese. They are a remarkably law-abiding people. Yet at graduation time this spring, more than 10% of the nation's junior high schools were guarded by the police. A group of teen-agers in Yokohama not long ago beat several street bums to death. Gangs of motorcycle riders taunt the police on Saturday nights; they blast past the stations and dare police to chase them through the maze of traffic. Juvenile delinquency, historically always low, has increased 80% since 1972. A White Paper issued by the Prime Minister's office concluded of today's youth: "They are devoid of perseverance, dependent upon others and self-centered."



Sunday at a public swimming pool in Tokyo

It is homogeneous and safe and civil, bound together by an unspoken social contract that is mysteriously effective.

Everyone in Japan talks about the violence in the junior high schools. Students threaten their teachers, even pull knives on them. The Japanese discuss such incidents, curiously enough, without much anger, without the punitive tone one might expect. But they worry. Of course, the violence done in all the schools in Japan in a year probably cannot match what the students in New York City schools commit in a month. Still, the Japanese seem to sense in the rebelliousness of the junior high school students a glimpse of the future, and it frightens them. A country that has lived so long and so successfully on the disciplines of obedience and respect for elders and scholars is shocked and mystified by children who rise up from their chairs and threaten their teachers.

Many Japanese fear that in part the educational system itself is to blame. It has produced marvels of mass literacy (nearly 100%), but also of mass conformity. It rewards dogged rote learning, but not the kind of daring involved in making creative and unorthodox intellectual connections. "Every Japanese child," says one writer, "has a kind of invisible wire rack inserted into its body and mind," like flowers in an arrangement, like a bonsai tree. The Japanese examination system subjects the young to purgatories of cramming. It is one more symptom of a densely determined and obligated life, and some of the young these days are escaping into a sort of minor league anarchy.

Planting rice in Toyama prefecture

Perhaps the first society to combine the sensibility of the modern mass with the house rules of a small tribe.

At Tokyo's Yoyogi Park every Sunday, groups of momentarily rebellious adolescents come to perform a strange exhibition. They grease their hair into ducktails and put on black pegged pants and leather jackets, or else polka-dot crinoline skirts, and they group around tape-deck machines and dance to rock 'n' roll: boys with boys, girls with girls. In Japan it is always the group, even in rebellion. The spectacle is strangely sweet and sad.

The fascination of the young for things American is wistful and sometimes weirdly askew. But it reflects a larger cross-cultural longing. In some ways, America and Japan are interesting commentaries on each other. The Japanese affinity for Americans represents in part the simple attraction of opposites. The Japanese live an intricate and compact life—119 million of them crowded onto islands the size of Montana. No new blood, or little, has entered the Japanese gene pool for 1,200 years. Americans are a sprawlingly expansive people whose chromosomes are a genetic brawl, an ingathering from all the tribes of the world. America is an intellectual dream, a reverie of the Enlightenment. The American civic principle is freedom and equality. The Japanese civic logic is mutual obligation, hierarchy, and the overriding primacy of the group. Japan is governed by *on*, by an almost infinitely complicated network of responsibility and debt and reciprocity: what each Japanese owes every other, and what each owes the entire group. America built a society around the idea that all fates are almost indefinitely reversible, around the idea of moving on, of clearing new land, changing jobs, changing roles, changing identities. The Japanese did not have new frontiers to run to; fates and roles have always seemed more settled there.

The Japanese think of Americans as far-ranging hunters, individualists, carnivores. They think of themselves as wet-rice farmers, rooted for many centuries in the same corner of the same prefecture. Perhaps each culture is wistful for the virtues and attractions of the other. Japan has, in any case, none of that American sense of immense, liberating, heartbreaking distances; Japan is put together like a watchwork, with cunning economy. The small, busy factories hum along flush against the rice fields, with apartment buildings jammed up against the other side. Japan is a very intimate country, with all of the rules and dangers of intimacy. It has been said that the Japanese have cultivated their silences and intuitive communication because they are a people with small rooms and paper walls.

The Japanese are not only intimate with themselves, but with their gods. They have no transcendent God of the Judaeo-Christian kind. The divine presents no forbidding immensities, no snow fields of abstraction, no terrible threats. The ancient Shinto deities, ancestors really, are essentially earthbound; they share the islands with the Japanese, and they can be summoned at a shrine by merely clapping one's hands. It is a friendly religion. But because of Shinto, the very earth and air and trees and mountains of Japan are numinous, filled with preternatural life. One secret of Japanese commercial success may have something to do with Shintoism, with the way that the tribe, and everything it does, achieves mythic importance. A French business executive, Antoine Riboud, remarked, "What struck me first was the degree of seriousness with which the Japanese consider economic activity, as such. They conceive of it as a civic matter, way above the mere quest for profit."

Shintoism has a sort of ethical partner in the Japanese soul. The American commercial itch went to church with the Calvinists. The Japanese conscience has been shaped by Confucianism, a system of social ethics based on five relationships: father and son, older brother and younger brother, ruler and subject, friend and friend, husband and wife. But Confucianism has a Calvinist spine. It is the moral architecture of Japan, of the Japanese group and the hierarchical systems of address and deference. The Japanese find it easier to deal with one another as unequals than as equals. They must know whether the person addressed is superior or inferior to them in status. The upor-down vectors of all relationships are crucial. They always exchange business cards on meeting, in order to tune their language to one another's relative status. All this makes for close-woven judgments and the most delicate calculations when the Japanese meet socially.

The language also makes for a certain elaborate vagueness. In Japanese, the verb comes at the end of the sentence, rather than in the middle. It is thus possible to state the subject and object of the sentence, all the while watching the reaction, and then adjust the verb (which states the relation between subject and object), softening it, for example, if the sentence begins to seem too strong, or displeasing. The speaker may even change his mind and insert a negative at the end, thereby reversing the entire meaning of the sentence, but preserving the human relationship. The Japanese approach to things is essentially one of indirection.

The Japanese have married feudalism to high capitalism, and that union has brought forth a formidable machine. The hierarchical feudal virtues—the emphasis on authority and loyalty and deference—remain in place despite much individual mobility. They legitimize the entire enterprise. Japan is a private club—almost a private race. It is possible to overstate the idea that everything in Japan is done by consensus, the idea that the entire country is a committee. Still, being Japanese is the most important reality in the life of any Japanese. Japan may be the first society to combine the sensibility of the modern mass with the house rules of a small tribe.

A certain quality of the American '50s clings to Japan now, the '50s refracted through the Japanese glass. Terms like conformity recur. The problems of youth violence recall the American *Blackboard Jungle*. But some of the behavior seems essentially innocent. If Japan is afflicted by its new worries, it remains an extraordinarily successful society by almost every measure. The social muscle tone is firm, the civic climate earnest and naive. If it is true that the Japanese are somehow spiritually located now in the American '50s, are they doomed to endure the sequel, the cultural turmoil that arrived in the American '60s? The Japanese are conscious of the possibility. When they look at what America and Western Europe have done with their economic maturity, they see as much to avoid as to emulate. They see considerable failure: economic, social and moral.

What both maddens and fascinates Americans about the Japanese success is the mystique of it. A shelf of dopesters' literature has been published to explain the Japanese phenomenon. Some is quite discerning, more of it is nonsense. The latter treats the Japanese success as a sort of mystical trick, a performance of managerial jujitsu. A concealed racist premise of these analyses is that—what's this?—a colony of ants has taught itself to waltz. The wonder is not that they do it well, but that they do it at all.

Yet the Japanese are not entirely unhappy about this myth-mongering. It keeps the world at a necessary psychological distance. It also permits a subtle form of cultural intimidation. Mystique has the effect of allowing Japanese business negotiators, for example, to play by Japanese rules, on the turf of Japanese psychology. The Japanese do not like to be understood too easily. It is possible that they do not like to be understood at all. Perhaps they have been studying Stonewall Jackson, who once instructed: "Always mystify, mislead and surprise the enemy, if possible."

Foreigners contemplating the Japanese tend to fall into two schools of perception: there are the elaborationists and the simplists. The elaborationists see an infinitely subtle and refined and complex people whose minds and customs are deeply rooted, reaching back centuries through a thousand laminations in time. Most Japanese are elaborationists about Japan. It is part of their cultural self-defense.

The simplists see Japan as a society that is vivid, vibrant and depthless. The Japanese, say the simplists, are a skitteringly nervous, suggestible and insecure people, quick (too quick) to change, given to adopting fads from abroad and Japanizing them. A facile people, living in the present and the immediate future, a sharp trading race. The truth, almost surely, is an amalgamation of the two perceptions. That is only fitting. Japan is a masterpiece of contradictions, of East and West, of exquisite politesse and oafish rudeness, of a certain lacquered arrogance combined with a strange insecurity in the presence of things foreign.

One of the most painful intricacies of the Japanese undertaking is this: Japan, by becoming such an economic phenomenon, has incurred new responsibilities. Yet those responsibilities cannot be fulfilled if the Japanese remain true to some of the characteristics that made them so successful in the first place. The Japanese are both distinguished and confined by their own culture. Their culture is their charm, their force, their secret and their gravest limitation. It gives them both method and identity and an enveloping inhibition. The Japanese attach such total meaning to themselves that for them, few intellectual excursions outside that circle can be significant

The nation simply threw itself open to the world. Rarely has there been such a smooth ingestion of foreign influence.

A trio of computers in a Tokyo kindergarten

Japan has become an economic superpower, but not yet a cultural or a political or a moral superpower. The deepest questions of the Japanese future revolve around Japan's capacity to transcend the limitations of its identity. Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union attempt to export ideals: for better and for worse, they stand for something in the world. What does Japan represent? Does Japan have a universal meaning? Or is its meaning, unlike its products, destined to remain confined to the home islands? Do superior products embody ideals?

The Japanese have set a breathless commercial pace for themselves and for the world. Can they maintain it? The old values are eroding now. In the next decades, the Japanese will be thrown back more upon their cultural reflexes and improvisational gifts. Those talents will determine whether Japan will be remembered as a great civilization, or merely a minutely distinctive one, full of brilliant energy. —*By Lance Morrow.*

Reported by Edwin M. Reingold/Tokyo

The Powers That Be

In all things political, consensus rules

Even by the standards of a country where political campaigns are not so much seen as heard, electioneering reaches a raucous pitch. From 7 a.m. to 8 p.m., loudspeakers mounted atop cars and trucks blare out the names of candidates. Men armed with bullhorns bellow party names on street corners, while the shouts of supporters assault the ears of those passing by. Japanese politicians have little choice but to woo votes with decibels: not only are television and newspaper ads forbiddingly expensive, but candidates are prohibited from making their pitches door to door. So deafening was the din during last June's campaign for seats to the Upper House that a Yokohama group called the Association of Sufferers from Noise urged citizens (quietly, of course) not to vote for those indulging in *renko*, the repeated chanting of political slogans and names.

The noise is only one of the features that make Japanese politics different. Distinctions can be found in matters large and small. Few Japanese join the country's political parties, while candidates often wear white gloves to show that their hands are clean of corruption. Although the country has trappings familiar to any Western democracy—a constitution, a parliament, a Cabinet and a Prime Minister—Japan's political practices are definitely home-grown.

When Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone was elected last November, the real race was not for votes from the 3.6 million members of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, but for the favor of the five men who run the five major political machines within the party. Each machine has its own leader, its own views and its own funds. Feuding is chronic. Nakasone won only after he had got the nod from former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, who remains the party's mightiest powerbroker even though he is now on trial for accepting $2 million in bribes *(see box)*.

To stay in office, Nakasone must constantly juggle the demands of the rival LDP groups. He chose his Cabinet so as to give proper balance to members of the various factions; with seven of the 21 ministries, Tanaka's men won the lion's share. Although he is more outspoken than his predecessors, Nakasone avoids making decisions unilaterally. Like a chairman of the board, he must operate by consensus.

In time-honored tradition, Yasuhiro Nakasone paints the eye of a doll after his party's victory

Nakasone's views on the major issues reflect the fact that the LDP, in spite of its name, is basically a conservative, free-enterprise party. He has called for strengthening Japanese defense forces as well as his country's ties to the U.S. and the West. He favors cutting income taxes, trimming the government bureaucracy, and paring the nation's swelling budget deficit, now $57 billion. The Prime Minister wants to transfer control of many state-owned companies to private hands. (At the top of his list: the Japanese National Railways.) On the controversial topic of educational reform, he proposes to end the system of rote learning and allow students greater flexibility in choosing colleges.

With 421 of the 763 seats in the Diet, the Liberal Democrats are the country's most powerful party. The Socialists lead the opposition with 144 seats. Always prepared to challenge anything put forward by the LDP, the Socialists believe Japan should pursue unarmed neutrality and boost corporate income taxes. The Socialists receive strong support from labor unions, although recent squabbles over Marxist philosophy have alienated blue-collar constituents. Other major parties include the Komeito, or Clean Government Party, the middle-of-the-road political arm of a lay Buddhist group, and the smaller, centrist Democratic Socialists. The well-organized Communists, who hold 43 seats, favor more spending on social programs and fewer funds for defense, but they can be surprisingly pragmatic. They work closely with small merchants, for example, to help them save money on their taxes.

During the past two years, tiny splinter groups devoted to single issues have proliferated. The most popular causes are tax reduction and better social services, but some of the "boutique" parties, as Nakasone derisively calls them, focus on such questions as homosexual rights and the saving of souls. In last June's election, the Salaried Workers Party, the Tax Party and the Welfare Party picked up a few seats.

Still, no party has come close to loosening the grip of the LDP, which has ruled Japan since 1955. The party has been successful in part because the opposition, especially the Socialists, is disorganized. The LDP has profited from the country's glittering economic record of the past 30 years; if the nation is prospering, goes the popular thinking, why change?

The LDP's success may be linked to the excessive role that money plays in Japanese politics. A leading candidate in a hotly contested race spends upwards of $1.5 million. The LDP relies for the most part on donations from businesses, a practice that can encourage corruption.

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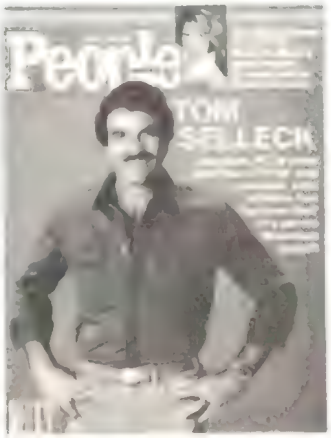

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Once elected, moreover, a Diet member may have to spend as much as $30,000 a month to keep his supporters happy. This money is used to pay for such activities as cultural shows and buying gifts on special occasions. Since Diet members earn $95,900, they must find their funds elsewhere. Thus some politicians may resort to *kinken*, or money power, in which political favors are performed in exchange for cash. Nakasone himself has not been free of suspicion: in 1972 a Japanese magazine accused him of accepting a $2.8 million bribe from Tanaka in return for supporting Tanaka's election as Prime Minister. Nakasone vowed to sue, and the charge, which received little attention when it was revived during last year's campaign, has never been substantiated.

According to the constitution, the Diet is the most powerful arm of the government, but it does not always exercise its powers. Murmurs of dissent from the opposition can produce a deadlock that lasts for weeks, while attempts to pass a bill before agreement is reached can lead to brawls and boycotts. Laws that are passed are often worded ambiguously. Members, meanwhile, find themselves devoting much of their time to constituents' requests, no matter how outlandish. A hog-farm operator, for example, kept after his representative for months to find him a hotel that would deliver him its leftover food, gratis, for his swine. The politician finally delivered and thus earned the unshakable support of the breeder.

Indeed, the real political power in Japan resides with the country's bureaucracy. Career civil servants not only write most of the legislation but then decide how to administer the laws. Bureaucrats, as a result, occupy a position of high prestige. They work closely with the country's business leaders and politicians, and deserve much of the credit for Japan's economic success. As Tanaka once said, 80% of a Prime Minister's job consists of getting the civil service to do what he wants.

Perhaps the most singular element of any country's political character is how the people view the system. In Japan, many seem to feel that politics is a dirty game and that the most effective practitioners may not be the most honest. There is the feeling that a successful politician should be like a creature, as the Japanese saying goes, "capable of drinking both pure and muddy water at the same time."

Such sentiments may help explain why so many Japanese seem to shun the hurly-burly of party politics. Ask a citizen of Japan about his political affiliation, and he is much more likely to say he is a conservative or a liberal, not a Liberal Democrat or a Socialist. If politics is the very heart of a country like the U.S., it is more like an artificial implant in Japan: perfectly capable of functioning, but not really the flesh and blood of the national character. No wonder the politicians must shout so much to be heard. —***By James Kelly. Reported by S. Chang/Tokyo***

Tanaka-San's Decline and Rise

His daily routine approaches a ritual. Early in the morning, he strolls through his sprawling Tokyo compound, with its exquisitely pebbled garden and tiny pools of carp, to a spacious reception hall. There he spends the day greeting a parade of visitors. Politicians, businessmen, constituents: they all come to pay homage to Kakuei Tanaka. For a man forced out as Prime Minister in 1974 for financial juggling, and still awaiting a verdict on charges of pocketing a $2 million bribe, the pageant of respect is remarkable. He remains the country's mightiest politician—the "Shogun of the Darkness," as Tanaka has christened himself.

The man is an anomaly. Of Japan's 16 postwar Prime Ministers, Tanaka is the only one who never attended college. The son of a poor farmer in a drowsy little village in Nishiyama, he headed off to Tokyo at age 15 with less than $3 in his pockets. Working at a small building firm during the day, Tanaka took a night course in civil engineering; by 19, he was the owner of a prosperous construction business. After making a small fortune as a wartime entrepreneur building barracks, he won a Diet seat in 1947. Lacking the school and family connections that make so many political careers in Japan, the ambitious Tanaka built his own power base by contributing lavishly to the campaigns of fellow members of the Liberal Democratic Party. Dubbed the Computerized Bulldozer for his photographic memory and endless energy, he quickly scrambled up the ladder of Cabinet and party posts until he reached the top rung in 1972. At 54, Tanaka was the youngest Prime Minister in Japanese history.

CURTA—SYGMA

The crafty "Shogun of the Darkness"

His style in office also set him apart from his predecessors. Blunt in speech and swift of decision, he proved to be a charismatic leader who handled foreign and domestic affairs with equal ease. Within months of taking office, he re-established diplomatic ties with China, while preserving Japan's lucrative economic ties with Taiwan. But Tanaka's popularity caught up with him in 1974, when a Japanese magazine exposed the fact that he had used a skein of dummy corporations and false tax statements to conceal his shadowy ways of making money. Amid the public uproar that ensued, Tanaka felt compelled to resign. Two years later, he was arrested on charges of having accepted $2 million in bribes from the Lockheed Corp. in return for persuading a Japanese airline to buy the company's triStar jets. The trial dragged along for 6½ years; a verdict is now expected in October.

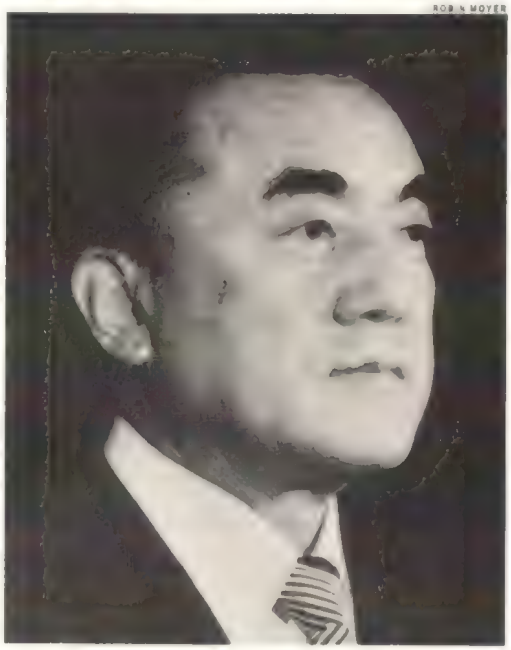
Despite his troubles, Tanaka not only kept his Diet seat but remained leader of the largest faction within the LDP. He can be disarmingly diffident about his influence. "When one is engaged in the same business as long as I have, one knows nearly everything about it," he once said. "One could even hold sway over our party's presidential election by using the telephone and nothing else." Indeed, Tanaka has done just that: he played a crucial role in the selection of his three successors, including Nakasone. Tanaka has retained control of his party fiefdom by dint of his forceful personality and durable contacts in the government bureaucracy. He still doles out funds to his faction's candidates and scrupulously looks after his constituents. Last December, Tanaka looked on with pride as a $5.1 million tunnel that serves only 60 homes in his district was completed. As Jushiro Komiyama, a former Cabinet minister puts it, "He takes care of those who support him, no matter what." Political Science Professor Kinuko Kubota of Tohoku Gakuin University concurs. "When it comes to the art of tackling party politics," she notes, "nobody does it better."

Perhaps. Yet it is widely assumed in Japan that the verdict will go against Tanaka. If he is found guilty, he will appeal, a process that could last ten years. Even if he is declared innocent, he is not likely to win back his old job. In a poll conducted last February, 67% of those surveyed labeled their former leader a liar. Meanwhile, Tanaka is rarely seen in public. He just continues padding between house and office, listening to visitors, dispensing favors and wielding power.

An Interview with Yasuhiro Nakasone

"We will make contributions to enhance the solidarity in the West"

Since taking office last November, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone has displayed a forthright, outspoken style unusual for Japanese leaders. Abandoning the somewhat dispassionate manner of his predecessors, he has begun to usher his nation firmly into a full partnership with the West. He has increased military spending and expanded his country's defense commitment in the western Pacific. At the same time, he has moved rapidly to open Japanese markets to more Western imports. Following his party's good showing in the recent parliamentary elections, Nakasone met with Tokyo Bureau Chief Edwin Reingold in the spacious salon outside the Prime Minister's office in downtown Tokyo. Excerpts from the interview:


ROBIN MOYER

On Japan's relations with the West. Up to now the Japanese people tended to feel they were quite open. In reality, however, I think they were confined within a very narrow, self-centered domain. I decided to push forward so we can become a Japan open to the world. I have made all-out efforts to improve access to the Japanese market. We have reduced tariff rates, and despite resistance, we have improved import certification and safety standards. We have been able to make tremendous progress, and that progress will continue. Another major change is that we have moved forward to assume a political role that is commensurate with Japan's economic potential. This means when we are faced with various international problems, we will make contributions to enhance the solidarity in the West.

On Japanese reaction to his more open policy. It has caused major repercussions. Perhaps over half of the major influential newspapers in Japan criticize my policies, and the other parties strongly denounce them. However, I have tried to explain my way of thinking to the people. I have made a hard-working effort to gain the people's understanding, and I think the results were fully reflected in last month's elections. Ultimately, I think the Japanese people do endorse the policy I have introduced.

On his diplomatic initiatives. I have visited the U.S., Korea and other Asian countries. On these occasions, I enunciated Japan's policies more clearly than had been done in the past. At the Williamsburg economic summit, I stated Japan's strong resolve to contribute actively to the cause of the West. These efforts, I believe, have been instrumental in dispelling doubts about Japan that existed abroad. Compared with previous Japanese policy, it seems to me that we have entered a new age, especially with respect to the political role Japan should play in the world.

On Japan-U.S. relations. Various disputes do exist. However, the Japanese and U.S. governments have reaffirmed their resolve to find solutions to these problems. That in itself, I believe, represents a major achievement. In the free world, problems always exist. It would be rather strange to see no conflicts. What matters is the fact that we can frankly discuss solutions. I have shown my willingness to find solutions, and I am aware of the same sincere resolve on the American side.

Problems between Japan and the U.S. extend to economic and defense fields, and these are indeed difficult issues. They have been compounded by fiscal and budgetary constraints in Japan. I think it is like traveling through Antarctic waters, where we have to avoid icebergs without damaging the ship. Both nations do function under a democratic party system, so neither of us can afford to take such a great risk that we endanger our administrations. Both the Congress and the Japanese Diet, while maintaining compassion for each other's position, should try to measure the depth of the water and to use radar to detect the existence of icebergs so we will not drown or sink. If we navigate carefully, and if we show strong resolve, no problem is impossible to solve.

On Japan's defense position. A defense plan is not simply related to the purchase of equipment—warships, large cannons and airplanes. Japan's desire to defend itself and its strategic interests are more important. Since my administration came into power, I have clearly enunciated Japan's approach, Japan's determination and Japan's will. For example, I agreed to share military technology with the U.S. At the same time, during deliberations in the Diet, I clearly indicated what we could and could not do within the framework of the Japanese constitution. All of this is much more important than the mere purchase of military equipment.

On the Soviets. We have no intention of acting as a bridge, so to speak, between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., nor do we have plans to serve as an honest broker between them. Based on the foundation of our membership in the West, and with Japan-U.S. relations as the cornerstone, we intend to maintain unity in the free world.

On relations with the Third World. If we can be an honest broker between north and south, then I think it is advisable for us to do so. Japan was once a developing country itself and has become an industrial nation, so it would make sense for Japan to be compassionate toward developing countries. I hope the world will pay particular attention to the energy and the potential of the East Asian countries. Seventy percent of our economic aid goes to Asia. With its economic possibilities and social stability, the East Asian region is now the most promising area in the world. I feel very honored to be a member of the region.

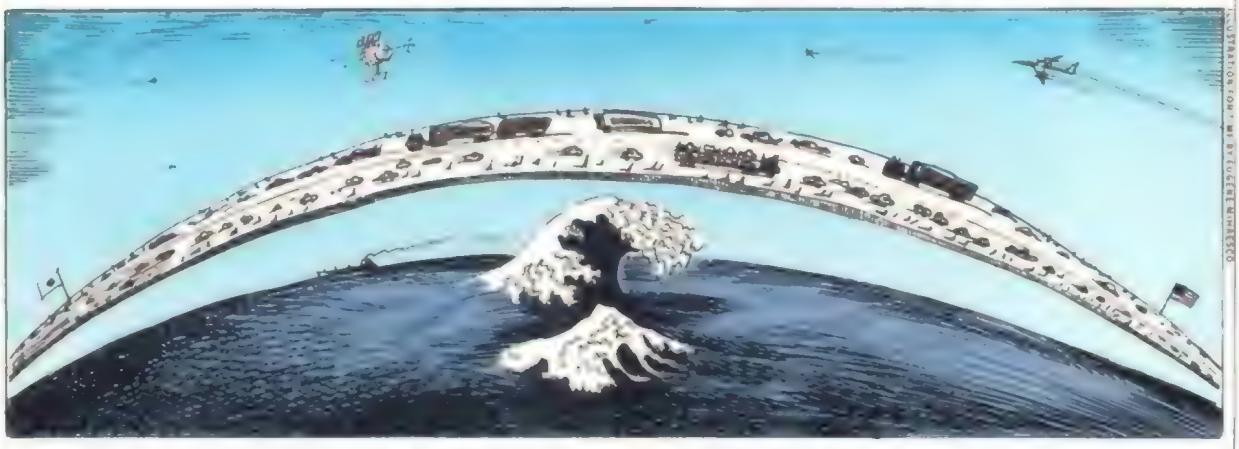
On his country. Unless one visits Japan, one may never be able to appreciate the country. It is a bit like tasting sugar. One says it is sweet, but unless one tastes it, no matter how many times it is explained, one can never know how sweet it is. So Japan may be a bit like sugar or salt: unless one tries to taste it, one may never be able to understand Japan. In the past, we have been lacking in our efforts to publicize Japan culturally. We have done quite well in exporting products. But from now on, we must make greater efforts in exporting cultural information. I hope our foreign friends will pay attention. ■

Talking Past Each Other

After 38 years of partnership, an odd couple feels the strain

It would be difficult to imagine a more unlikely partnership than the U.S.-Japanese alliance. One nation is ancient and culturally homogeneous, crowded onto an archipelago at the edge of Asia. The other is an ethnic melting pot, with European roots, that spreads across a continent. Both are troubled by memories of a global war that inaugurated the nuclear age, terribly and personally for each. Still, over the past three decades the U.S. and Japan have managed to forge what U.S. Ambassador to Tokyo Mike Mansfield calls "the most important single bilateral relationship, bar none." An American with long experience in Japan remarks, "It is something of a miracle that two countries as different as we are have bridged the gap to the extent we have."

That span of trust and confidence is



made of real girders. The U.S. is now Japan's most important trading partner. Together, the two countries account for nearly half of all production outside the Communist bloc. With 119 U.S. bases and 51,550 American troops on its soil, Japan has become the keystone of U.S. defense strategy in the Pacific. When the U.S. called on its allies to boycott the 1980 Moscow Olympics to protest the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Japan was among the first to join. It also followed the U.S. lead in imposing economic sanctions against Poland.

But the U.S. and Japan have begun to realize that they can no longer take their relationship for granted. The American-Japanese dialogue has undergone an unsettling change. Tolerance has sometimes given way to impatience, accommodation to recrimination. Says former Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa: "Since World War II, I have been able to talk with my friends from America on many issues, and most of the time we agree or agree to disagree. Now we are not even sure we are talking about the same thing."

The main areas of dispute, trade and defense policy are not new. But tensions have been aggravated by the persistent global recession and the growing Soviet arms buildup. With the U.S. unemployment rate at 10%, U.S. business leaders complain with increasing stridency about what they consider to be unfair Japanese trading practices. A number of the announced Democratic presidential candidates have joined former Vice President Walter Mondale in calling for protection against the flood of Japanese imports (*see* ECONOMY & BUSINESS). In addition, at a time when the U.S. is devoting 6% of its G.N.P. to defense, *vs.* less than 1% in Japan, many politicians and businessmen charge that Japan has been successful partly because it is getting a "free ride" on defense (*see following story*). Declared Senator Don Riegle of Michigan in a recent speech: "Japan spends almost nothing on its own defense, then turns around and kicks Uncle Sam in the teeth on trade."

Part of the problem is communication. As close as relations have been for 38 years, Japan and the U.S. have never had the kind of frank, not to say occasionally acerbic, dialogue that Washington frequently has with many of its European allies. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce Clyde Prestowitz observes, "Despite the enormous contact between American and Japanese officials and negotiators at higher levels, most of it is spent talking past each other." Japanese diplomats make the mistake of believing that if they can explain their policy often or well enough, the U.S. will ultimately agree with it. Part of the problem is semantic: the Japanese verb *rikai* means both to understand and to appreciate. While the two concepts are often blurred in Japan, in the U.S. they are not.

U.S. diplomats bear their share of responsibility for many of the crossed signals. They have shown a troubling tendency to ignore Japanese interests when making major decisions. The most notable example occurred in 1971, when, without advance warning, President Nixon devalued the dollar and slapped a 10% surcharge on all dutiable imports to the U.S. Two years later, the U.S. limited the export of all soybeans in order to avert a livestock feed-grain shortage, without realizing that this would cause concern in Japan, where soybeans are a principal source of protein.

Since coming to power last November, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone has improved the diplomatic climate substantially. Before his first state visit to Washington in January, his government pointedly announced several tariff cuts and the easing of nontariff barriers. Nakasone also expressed a willingness to bolster Japan's defense role in the Pacific.

Much of the strain in U.S.-Japanese relations may be the inevitable result of a change in the way the Japanese view themselves. Increasingly, they believe that their economic success is the fruit of hard work and that the U.S. bears responsibility for its problems. An American diplomat in Japan explains: "Japan appears to be attempting to define a role for itself commensurate with the strength it exercises in the world."

If bilateral ties are to remain strong, the U.S. will have to realize that certain set notions about Japan must also change. Ambassador Mansfield contends: "We ought to quit leaning on the Japanese and get back to our own oldtime religion" of producing competitive, quality products with pride. The Japanese will also have to learn that a position of global power brings added responsibilities. Long considered the junior partner in the Western alliance, Japan may finally be ready for full membership. —***By John Kohan. Reported by Carol Honsa/Washington and Edwin M. Reingold/Tokyo***

Old Memories Die Hard

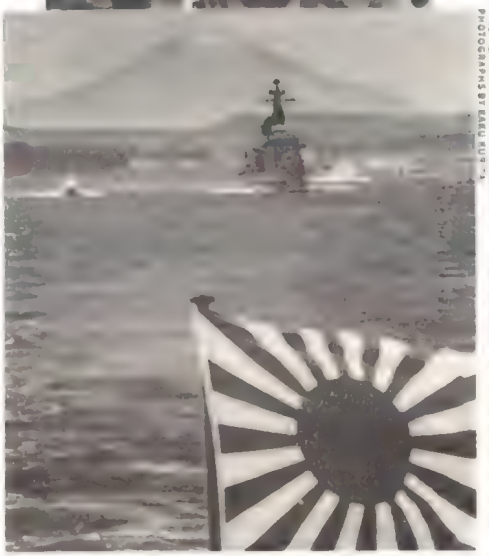
Under U.S. pressure, Nakasone tries to change attitudes on defense

As the leaders of the world's seven major industrial powers labored over their joint communiqué at Williamsburg last May, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone suggested inserting a sentence that sounded like diplomatese at its blandest. "The security of our countries," it said, "is indivisible and must be approached on a global basis." But the six other leaders immediately recognized the symbolic importance of the Japanese recommendation, which they readily approved. For the first time since 1945, when officers of the imperial Japanese army stood on the deck of the U.S.S. *Missouri* and witnessed their country's surrender, Japan had publicly acknowledged that it was no less involved in the defense of the West than the West was in protecting the island nation. Yet, as soon as Nakasone arrived back in Tokyo he found himself in a crossfire of criticism. The opposition roundly denounced him, while newspapers bemoaned his "hawkish metaphors."

The reaction aptly illustrates Japan's emotional debate over defense. Since the end of World War II, the country has relied on the U.S. for protection in case of attack. Thanks to the American military shield, Japan has been able to keep its military budgets unusually low: this year, for example, the bill came to $12 billion, or .98% of the G.N.P. In comparison, West Germany is spending 2.6% of its G.N.P., Britain 5.1% and the U.S. 6.3%. As a result of the imbalance, Americans and West Europeans complain increasingly that Japan's world economic success rests at least in part on its failure to pay its fair share of the West's defense, which means the West is paying an undue share of Japan's defense. Under pressure from Washington, Japan is now confronting questions that have been buried under the radioactive rubble of Hiroshima for nearly four decades.

After their defeat in World War II, the Japanese embraced pacifism as fervently as they had taken to militarism in the 1930s. During the U.S. occupation, which lasted from 1945 to 1952, the country's forces were disbanded and its arms factories dismantled. In the constitution that was drafted under the direction of General Douglas MacArthur, which remains in effect today, the Japanese forever renounced war and pledged never again to maintain "land, sea and air forces as well as other war potential." But in 1954 the Japanese government decided that those words did not deny it the right to minimal self-defense. With U.S. assistance, it formed a small army, navy and air force. Still sensitive about the past, the Japanese called their services the Self-Defense Forces.

Since then, Japanese defense policies have evolved gingerly. In 1960 Washington and Tokyo signed a treaty in which the U.S. agreed to come to Japan's aid in case of an attack (Japan did not have to pledge to do the same for the U.S.). In 1976 Japan announced that it would expand its forces so that they could turn back a small-scale invasion, although the country would still depend on the U.S. in case of a major conflict. At the same time, the government imposed a ceiling of 1% of the G.N.P. on military spending.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY EARU KUR

Under watchful eyes, ships maneuver in Sagami Bay

The U.S. concern about Japan's defense goes well beyond dollars and yen. Japan's geographic situation, 380 miles from the Chinese coast and a mere 155 miles from the Soviet Union, gives the country prime strategic importance. The U.S.S.R. has stationed 10,000 soldiers on four northern islands that were seized from Japan shortly after World War II but that are still claimed by Tokyo. Since 1978 it has also targeted an estimated 120 SS-20 missiles on Japan and China. Soviet ships now track the U.S. Seventh Fleet as it steams through the Pacific, often docking at the Vietnamese naval base at Cam Ranh Bay.

Japan is uncommonly vulnerable, especially to a blockade. With few natural resources of its own, the island nation imports all its oil and much of its food. In 1981 former Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki promised Washington that Japan would be responsible for safeguarding its sea lanes up to 1,000 miles away, but Tokyo was slow in working out the details. Nakasone, however, set up a task force to coordinate strategy with the U.S.

Indeed, Nakasone is quite sympathetic to Washington's concerns. As a former defense director, he has been hawkish and outspoken about bolstering Japanese forces. During a visit to Washington last January, he publicly declared that he wanted to make Japan "a big aircraft carrier" and promised to tighten its control over the Japanese straits, a natural avenue to the Pacific for Soviet ships in case of war

Whether Nakasone can convince his countrymen is another question. Every time he talks of stronger defenses, Japanese newspapers and opposition leaders attack him. In a survey taken in March, 72.6% of those polled disapproved of any increase in defense spending at the expense of social programs. Even of those who saw a need for the Self-Defense Forces, nearly 40% said that the main task of the military should not be soldiering but disaster relief.

Postwar pacifism alone does not explain the resistance to stronger defenses. Many Japanese simply do not perceive the Soviets as a menace to their security. Says Sadako Ogata, professor of international relations at Tokyo's Sophia University: "When you look at Soviet strength economically and politically, the threat does not seem all that overwhelming." Some Japanese feel that if their country beefs up its forces, it will become a more likely target for the Soviets; others argue that the country's small size makes it virtually defenseless against a nuclear strike, no matter how large its conventional forces.

Japanese opinion, to be sure, has changed over the years. In 1970, on the tenth anniversary of the passage of the security treaty, tear gas filled the air as protesters and police clashed in the streets. In 1980 there was not a single major demonstration against the treaty's reaffirmation. Though both leading opposition parties, the Socialists and the Communists, have been against strengthening defense, they have never succeeded in converting a majority of voters to their view.

Nakasone's long-range goal is to make Japan strong enough to defend itself, including its skies and territorial waters, and to protect its sea lanes. Despite the recession, Nakasone got the Diet to approve a

6.5% increase (after inflation) in defense spending this year. Two weeks ago, he announced that he would ask for a 6.9% boost in 1984 defense outlays; at the same time, most other departments were ordered to cut their budgets by 10%. But even if Nakasone can raise military expenditures by 7% or 8% over the next five years, U.S. officials will not be satisfied. Says Admiral Robert F. Long, former commander in chief of the Pacific: "At the present rate of buildup, the Japanese will be incapable of carrying out the objectives they set for themselves." Only by cracking the 1%-of-G.N.P. ceiling on military spending will Japan meet its objectives. Nakasone had hinted that he might try to do so, but he now says he will stay within that limit. "I have no intention of removing the ceiling," he told TIME. Nonetheless, he has abolished a longstanding taboo against exchanging military technology with the U.S. Troops from the two countries held joint exercises for the first time earlier this year at Mount Fuji.

As the only nation to suffer the horrors of an atomic attack, Japan decided in 1956 never to acquire nuclear weapons. Nakasone has reiterated that pledge, though he, like his predecessors, must fudge a bit. The government vowed that atomic weapons would never be "introduced" into the country, but it is widely assumed that the U.S. warships that visit the U.S. naval base at Yokosuka are equipped with nuclear arms. The two countries observe a sort of polite fiction: the U.S. does not consider that it is bringing the weapons permanently into the country, so it never informs the Japanese of their presence. Tokyo, in turn, never asks.

For a nation of 119 million, Japan does indeed have a relatively meager military: 13 divisions (155,000 men), 160 ships and 360 aircraft. Because it has not fought in any wars since 1945, not a single member of its forces today has combat experience. The weakest link is the ground troops. The navy, though small and ill equipped, is well disciplined, while the air force enjoys high morale. The army has found it difficult to recruit the 20,000 men needed every year just to keep up its current strength. Coordination among the three branches is poor; commanders rarely speak to each other unless necessary. All services suffer from a chronic shortage of fuel and ammunition.

But the most daunting task facing Nakasone is not so much improving the military as altering postwar Japanese perceptions about defense. The Prime Minister will have little success in bolstering forces until he convinces his people that rearmament will not lead to a fresh wave of militarism. Anyone who doubts that the Japanese are still distrustful of their soldiers need only go by the defense agency's headquarters in downtown Tokyo. Most officers travel to work in civilian clothes and change into uniforms in rented rooms near the compound. "The people have yet to accept us fully," explains an officer. "Memories die hard." —*By James Kelly. Reported by Edwin M. Reingold/Tokyo*

Nakasone, center, with President Marcos and his wife in Manila last spring

A New Good Neighbor Policy

Tokyo uses trade and aid to expunge old memories in the region

For many Asians, the notion of a strong, assertive Japan on their doorstep provokes a shudder. World War II has been over for nearly four decades, but the image of the swaggering Japanese conquerors who occupied and on occasion brutalized neighboring countries under the imperialistic banner of the "Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" remains vivid. As recently as 1974, the visit of former Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka to Indonesia incited bloody street riots in the capital city of Jakarta. The Japanese government's proposals last year to gloss over the country's actions during World War II (among other things, officials wanted to change school textbooks to describe Japan's 1937 invasion of China as an "advance") caused major protests in Hong Kong, the South Korean capital of Seoul and in Peking. A few weeks later, Ferdinand Marcos, President of the Philippines, publicly warned that "Japan will sooner or later, perhaps sooner than later, dominate."

President Marcos may well have been right in his assessment. By virtue of its tremendous economic success, Japan has once again become a major force in the Orient, even though the Japanese are far more anxious to identify themselves with the industrialized powers of the West. Asian trepidation over Japan's renewed strength, however, is exaggerated. The chief lesson that the Japanese have learned from their disastrous wartime experience is that peaceful trade and aid can yield far greater dividends than military aggression.

In recent years the Japanese have made energetic efforts to improve relations with the countries that they formerly bullied, or tried to. The results of Tokyo's good-neighbor policy are not yet in; indeed, wiping out the memories of war is likely to be, as a U.S. State Department official puts it, "the work of another generation." But thanks to those efforts, the image of Japan as a menace is fading.

No postwar Japanese Prime Minister has worked harder or more openly at burnishing his country's image in the region than Yasuhiro Nakasone. He has approached the task with an engaging frankness about Japan's past excesses, and with frequently repeated assurances that Tokyo now wishes to play a new and different kind of role in the area. That role, as he has said, attaches importance to "cooperation rather than confrontation, and modesty rather than self-assertion." Nakasone has been meticulous in presenting himself as the exemplar of Japanese humility. That personal care extends to the way he responds to the red-carpet treatment on trips abroad. Nakasone claims that on such visits, he never walks down the center of the traditional welcoming mat for heads of government, because to do so would display arrogance. "Because I walk on one edge and my host walks on the other," he says, "the center stays very clean."

Nakasone began breaking new diplomatic ground almost as soon as he took office. In January he decided to make neighboring South Korea, rather than the U.S., the destination of his first state visit. The choice had special significance: from 1910 to 1945, the Korean peninsula was under direct Japanese control. To this day, according to public opinion polls, South Koreans like the Japanese even less than they do their Communist rivals in North Korea. (The feeling is mutual: the 669,800 Koreans who live in Japan are generally treated as second-class citizens.)

Nakasone arrived in Seoul bearing considerable gifts. Chief among them was a seven-year, $4 billion aid package

designed to assuage South Korean complaints that Japan has not been paying its share of the regional defense burden. Nakasone's largesse and charm were effective. South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan hailed the visit as a "historic, indeed monumental, milestone in our relations." The two leaders now talk frequently by telephone. Nakasone used a variation on the same theme with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), a loose economic grouping composed of Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and Singapore. ASEAN has already received 37% of its foreign aid, or $800 million, from Japan. Nakasone extended friendship one step further: on a trip to the ASEAN capitals before May's Williamsburg summit, he met with local leaders and promised to convey their concern over rising protectionism to the Western leaders at the meeting.

In contrast to the hostility shown Tanaka in 1974, Nakasone's reception in Indonesia was warm. Apparently confident that Nakasone will not lead his nation on an expansionist path, President Suharto did not even raise the question of Japan's recent military buildup. In Manila, Nakasone expressed his deep regret to President Marcos over Japan's wartime depredations in the islands. According to Nakasone, Marcos was sufficiently moved by the gesture to declare that "the era of stability has opened in Asia." In the Malaysian capital of Kuala Lumpur, Nakasone firmly rejected the notion of any future military superpower status for his country, "based on reflection of what Japan did in the past." He also offered additional pledges of aid, including investment in a $2.3 billion Japanese-style bullet train, which would run from Johore Bahru to Butterworth, 480 miles to the north.

In addition to providing aid, Japan is buying more from its neighbors. Last year Japanese imports from ASEAN amounted to $20.9 billion, an increase of 118.9% from five years ago. Japan is now the largest or second largest trading partner of every country in the area.*

Nowhere is the fundamentally economic nature of Japanese foreign policy more strikingly on display than in Japan's relations with Australia. Japan is now Australia's principal economic partner, buying chiefly such natural resources as iron ore, coal and wool. Last year those purchases were valued at $4.8 billion, 28% of Australia's total exports. In turn, Australia has become, apart from a few oil-producing countries, the world's largest per-capita importer of Japanese manufactured products ($4.2 billion worth last year). As a result of the economic links, cultural ties between the two extremely different societies are also becoming somewhat closer. There has, for example, been a virtual boom in Japanese language instruction in Australia.

Japan's relations with China are considerably more complex. A dozen years ago, China was still profoundly anti-Japanese. The official Communist press regularly published stories accusing the Japanese of reviving militarism and fascism. Beginning in 1972, when the two countries restored diplomatic relations, the climate changed. In 1978 a Sino-Japanese peace-and-friendship treaty was signed, and last year the two countries agreed to promote long-term and stable ties based on, among other things, the principles of equality and mutual benefit. Within that framework, Tokyo and Peking have signed numerous agreements and protocols on trade, communications, culture, technology and transport. Soon after assuming office, Prime Minister Nakasone called his counterpart, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang, and assured him over the phone that "it is one of the main pillars of our country's foreign policy to uphold and develop stable relations with China." On a visit to Tokyo in June 1982, Zhao declared that "our two sides have identical or similar views on many important international issues." One of those issues is mutual trade, which rose from $1.1 billion in 1972 to $10.4 billion in 1981.

Like many U.S. businessmen, Japanese entrepreneurs hoped to take advantage of China's ambitious modernization plans. As it turned out, the Chinese were not prepared to absorb foreign imports and investments as rapidly as was expected. Thus trade between China and Japan actually declined by about 14% last year, to $9 billion. Several major Japanese industrial projects in China, like the $5 billion Baoshan iron-and-steel complex near Shanghai, were salvaged only after Japan came up with hundreds of millions of dollars worth of subsidized low-interest loans. Japanese traders hope that China will continue its policy of giving top priority to modernization. Says a businessman in Tokyo: "If they ask for our technical help, we'll be glad to help them." As one sign of the two countries' optimism about their future relations, they have managed to avoid confrontation on age-old mutual irritants, like their conflicting claims to a small group of uninhabited islands 80 miles off the coast of Taiwan.

Japan's relations with Taiwan remain close despite Tokyo's 1972 decision to drop formal recognition of the island republic as part of its accommodation with mainland China. Trade is booming, and late last year Taiwan announced a joint venture with Toyota Motors to build a $582 million auto-assembly plant on the island. Japanese brand-name manufacturers of such items as color TVs and stereo components, including Sony, Sharp and Toshiba, have also moved to Taiwan to take advantage of cheaper labor costs. Despite the fact that some of those goods are now competing in Japanese domestic markets, Tokyo has so far taken a benign view of the economic shift.

As peaceful as the Japanese may be, there will doubtless always be friction between Japan and its Asian neighbors, just as there is between the U.S. and Western Europe. Nakasone knows that he will have to walk on the edge of the red carpet for quite some time to come. *—By George Russell. Reported by Bing W. Wong/Hong Kong with other bureaus*

*The British Crown Colony of Hong Kong is an exception. Japan ranks third among Hong Kong's trading partners, after China and the U.S.

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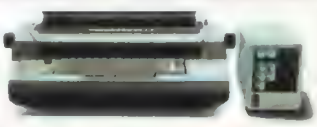

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An Enigmatic Still Life

Impassive as ever, Hirohito prefers jellyfish to politics

Dressed in battered Panama hat, short-sleeved shirt, Bermuda shorts and ancient tennis shoes, he seems most in his element while pottering around the seashore inspecting biological specimens. His evenings are generally spent at home with his wife watching soap operas and sumo wrestling on TV. In conversation, he rarely ventures anything more voluble than *"Ah so desu ka* [Is that so]?" Such are the salient features of the still, shy life of Emperor Hirohito, born as the 124th Imperial Son of Heaven in an unbroken line stretching back 2,643 years. Schooled since birth in the remoteness and reticence that become a deity, Japan's 82-year-old monarch remains to this day as impassive and impenetrable as the stone walls of Tokyo's Imperial Palace.

Only twice in his life, indeed, has Hirohito publicly displayed emotion: in 1936, when the military assassinated two of his most trusted aides, and again in 1945, when he announced Japan's surrender by declaring, with broken-voiced dignity, "We must bear the unbearable."

With the war Hirohito lost all but symbolic power. Installed as Crown Prince in 1916 and enthroned as Emperor ten years later, he was pressed by General Douglas MacArthur to relinquish his claims to divinity in 1946. Under the 1947 constitution the Emperor was identified as nothing more than "the symbol of the state and of the unity of the people." Commoners were no longer forbidden to speak his name or look at his face; 90% of his wealth, estimated at $250 million, was confiscated. Characteristically, the bespectacled monarch absorbed such indignities without comment, let alone complaint. Taking cheerfully to frugality, he began donating food from the imperial household to his beleaguered countrymen.

Hirohito now seems to relish his restricted but ritualized duties. Each year, he symbolically plants seedlings of rice on the 284-acre palace grounds; at least 20 times annually he dons flowing traditional costume as the nation's highest-ranking Shinto priest. In addition, each weekday he diligently repairs to his office to rubber-stamp government appointments, welcome foreign envoys and brushstroke his signature on an annual flood of 2,000 state papers. In return, the state devotes $41.1 million a year to the upkeep of palace property, including a taxable stipend of $936,000 for the Emperor.

The royal couple lives in the modest 15-room Fukiage Palace near the sumptuous $36.1 million official palace. Their compound includes a two-story lab in which the Emperor pursues his one consuming passion: marine biology. As the world's leading authority on hydrozoans (jellyfish and related creatures), he has written 16 books in the field.

Hirohito's other favorite subject is his 1921 voyage to Europe, which made him the first member of the Japanese royal family to set foot outside his homeland. During that trip the 20-year-old Crown Prince played golf with the dashing Prince of Wales and, Hirohito later recalled, "first experienced freedom" after having been raised "like a bird in a cage." Upon his return, he permanently adopted the Western style of dressing, eating and sleeping. Even now the Emperor treasures his first purchase, a 1921 Paris Métro ticket.

In 1975 Hirohito finally visited the U.S. Over 15 days, the Emperor traveled from Williamsburg to Hawaii, attending a professional football game, meeting John Wayne and delightedly visiting the Marine Biological Laboratory in Woods Hole, Mass. For years after his trip to Disneyland he sported a Mickey Mouse wristwatch.

But Hirohito remains haunted by the war that claimed the lives of 2.3 million Japanese soldiers and 800,000 civilians. As he told TIME in a rare interview in 1975, "The saddest thing in my reign was the Second World War." Some revisionists now say that the Emperor's melancholy reserve masks the spirit of a shrewd and scheming warmonger. Most historians, however, contend that in spite of, or indeed because of, his unassuming pacifism, the unworldly scholar was often unable to dominate his nation's ruthless army. In 1941, for example, Japan's leaders turned to Hirohito while deliberating whether to join the war. Without explanation, the poker-faced monarch proceeded to recite a gnomic *waka* (a traditional 31-syllable poem) composed by his grandfather, the Meiji emperor: "On the seas surrounding all quarters of the globe/ All people are kin to each other/ Why then do winds and waters of conflict/ Disturb peace among us?" He said no more on the subject.

The Emperor has shared his quiet life with Empress Nagako, 80, whom he married, by traditional arrangement, in 1924. A merry music lover who has enjoyed command performances by Mahalia Jackson and Marian Anderson, Nagako is also a distinguished painter. On walks, the royal couple like to collect plants, which, it is said, he studies and she sketches. Together they incarnate the classical Japanese ideal of mutual devotion.

Of the couple's seven children, both Crown Prince Akihito, 49, and his brother Hitachi, 47, have inherited their father's hobby.* The handsome, retiring elder son has published 23 monographs on ichthyology; Hitachi specializes in fish tumors. Second in line to the throne is Akihito's eldest son Hiro, 23, who recently left Tokyo to study medieval European history at Oxford.

Under the terms of the constitution, Hirohito's successor will have little opportunity to extend imperial power. Meanwhile, though most of Hirohito's subjects regard him with fond bemusement, some are beginning to suggest privately that he should abdicate. But the Emperor remains steadfast. When questioned once about his long reign, His Imperial Majesty simply recited a proverb: "Not even under the heaviest snowfall will willow trees snap."

—By Pico Iyer

PHOTOGRAPHS BY IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD AGENCY

The retiring couple; Grandson Aya, left; Son Akihito

Maintaining the aloofness of an ancient institution.

*Of the Emperor's five daughters, Princess Teru died in 1961 at the age of 35, and Princess Hisa died within six months of her birth in 1927. Kazuko Takatsukasa, 54, became a Shinto priestess after her husband died. Atsuko Ikeda, 52, is a businessman's wife; and Takako Shimazu, 44, is married to a banker.

How Japan Turned West

To "drive out the barbarians," the nation learned their ways

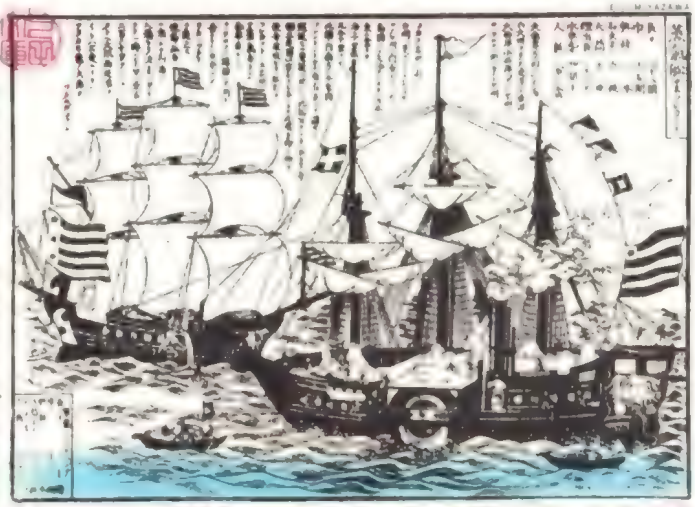
特別号 歴史

When Commodore Matthew Perry entered Edo Bay aboard the steam frigate *Susquehanna* just 130 years ago this summer, most of the awestruck Japanese had never before seen such a vessel, much less a whole flotilla of what they called "the black ships of evil mien." Deliberately self-isolated for more than two centuries from the upheavals of the "barbarian" outside world, they lived in an almost medieval state. The turmoil of the industrial revolution was all but unknown to them. The shogun's court at Edo received various dispatches from pairs of strong-legged runners, one of whom carried state documents in a lacquered box while the other bore a lantern marked "official business." In imperial Kyoto, the Empress and her ladies followed a custom of blackening their teeth.

Perry presented a White House letter announcing that the U.S. wanted: 1) a fueling station for its merchant ships, 2) a commercial treaty permitting free trade, and 3) friendship. If the Japanese did not accede to U.S. terms, he implied, he would impose them by force. The Japanese could hardly refuse; they had no navy with which to defend themselves. Despite the opposition of the figurehead Emperor, the shogun regime, which actually governed the country, reluctantly signed a series of coerced treaties with five nations from 1854 to 1858. The barbarian merchants and missionaries began moving in.

It was a shocking humiliation. The full title of the shogun, head of a military oligarchy that had established itself in the 12th century, was "barbarian-subduing generalissimo," and now he had proved helpless. Angry nationalists rallied around the idea of overthrowing the disgraced shogunate and restoring direct rule by the Emperor, descendant of the sun goddess. Their slogan: *Sonno-joi* (Revere the Emperor! Drive out the barbarians!).

Victorious over the shogun's forces were a group of tribal clans, mostly from the regions of Choshu and Satsuma in southwestern Japan. Young, ambitious, aggressive, these clan leaders had no intention of really restoring imperial rule, and they themselves were to govern as a new oligarchy for the next half-century. To symbolize the change, though, they decided to move the young Emperor, Mutsuhito, out of Kyoto and into the shogun's castle at Edo, which they renamed "eastern capital": Tokyo. A British infantry unit, on guard in a new European settlement, piped the Emperor to his new home to the tune of *The British Grenadiers*. The Emperor took for his reign the name Meiji (enlightened rule), and so in 1868 began the Meiji Restoration. It dedicated itself to the overnight transformation of a feudal anachronism into a world power.



A Japanese view of U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry's "black ships of evil mien"

In contrast to the Chinese, who clung to the belief in their own cultural superiority despite repeated European humiliations, the Japanese decided early to learn the barbarians' ways. They sent inquiring envoys abroad and hired many foreign experts. Some of the lessons were basic. The Meiji rulers abolished feudalism in 1871, and all fiefs reverted to the Emperor. The samurai, warriors who had formed a ruling caste under the shogunate, were pensioned off. They were forbidden to carry swords or even to wear their traditional topknots. When the samurai rose in revolt, they were suppressed by new armies of conscripts (whom the French were training). With conscription came the French system of compulsory universal education. British shipyards began building Japanese warships, and the Royal Navy trained Japanese seamen as officers.

Modernization took all manner of forms. Tokyo's first gaslights brightened the Ginza in 1874, and four years later came the first electric bulb, which burned out in 15 minutes. The Empress stopped blackening her teeth in 1873. Japan tasted its first butter, its first lemonade.

Underlying many of the Meiji innovations was a specific purpose: to combat the "unfair" treaties that the Western powers had forced on Japan. Since those treaties imposed low tariffs to open the way for Western goods, the Meiji rulers spent heavily to subsidize their own development of textile mills, shipping, banking and other industries. Still broader results derived from the Meiji hope of renegotiating the treaties. The Westerners had insisted on extraterritoriality for their own citizens in Japan, for example, on the ground that Westerners could not be subject to antiquated feudal laws. Thus the modernized Japanese legal codes. (The concept of "rights" as contrasted to obligations was such a novelty that a new word, *kenri*, had to be invented.)

In 1889 the Meiji unveiled their most ambitious effort to impress the world: Japan's first constitution. When the official in charge of the project went to Europe for expert guidance, he spent less time in London than in the Germany of Bismarck, and the Meiji constitution was Japan's parallel to Bismarckian conservatism: sovereignty belonged not to the people but to the Emperor. The Cabinet was responsible not to the legislature but to the throne. Only the wealthiest 1% of the populace could vote for the lower house of the Diet, and the upper house was reserved for the aristocracy.

The Japanese were finally able to renegotiate their treaty with Britain in 1894, then with the other Western powers. The same year, proud of their nation's new status, they picked a quarrel with China over disputed rights in the feeble kingdom of Korea. They attacked without warning, and won a quick victory. Ten years later, they inflicted the same fate on Russia.

Scarcely a half-century had passed since the barbarians aboard Perry's black ships had humiliated the shoguns, and now Japan was a politely pugnacious power. The Meiji Restoration (the Emperor died in 1912) was a miracle of national self-regeneration, but the lessons imperfectly learned from the imperialist powers of the 19th century contained, or perhaps simply intensified, some dangerous poisons: a hunger for autocracy, a reliance on force, a fear of isolation from the world, and a rankling sense of grievance. The world would hear more of them.

—*By Otto Friedrich*

Fighting It Out

Competition at home leads to success abroad

特別号 経済と商業

Some two miles north of the glittering lights of Tokyo's Ginza district is a lesser-known commercial enclave that, in its way, is every bit as dazzling. Called Akihabara, it is a booming bazaar that spills over 20 blocks and is probably the world's most fiercely competitive market for electrical goods. In hundreds of sprawling stores and cubbyhole shops festooned with brightly colored banners proclaiming bargains, customers can buy almost any type of vacuum cleaner or video-cassette recorder, refrigerator or radio, humidifier or home computer. Familiar brands such as Sony and Sharp are surrounded by scores of less familiar names: Nakamichi, Denon and Oki. At one store can be found 205 varieties of stereo headphones, 100 different color television sets and 75 kinds of record turntables. While some stores are relatively sedate, others flash lights, blast out rock music and station salesmen on the sidewalk to pitch for patrons like French Quarter strip-club touts in New Orleans.

Wild about their new walkie-talkies

The bedlam at Akihabara goes a long way toward explaining why Japan has conquered consumer electronics markets around the world. For Japanese companies, competition begins at home. To survive and prosper, they must turn out products with exceptionally low prices, outstanding quality and innovative features. If Japanese firms can outpace their local rivals, foreign competitors often prove to be pushovers. Says a top Japanese electronics executive: "Our target is not some other country; our target is ourselves."

The electronics business, bursting with 580 companies, is just one of many Japanese industries, both old and new, that are hotly competitive. More than 7,000 firms manufacture textiles, and 114 make machine tools. The fledgling robotmaking business already has 200 entrants. Even in heavy industries dominated by giant corporations, competition is comparatively strong. Japan has nine auto manufacturers, while the U.S. has only four domestic ones.

Japan's internal rivalries have gone largely unnoticed in the U.S. and Europe, where attention has focused on the aid and guidance Japanese industries receive from the government. Western commentators talk of Japan Inc., implying that business and government have banded together to form a monolithic powerhouse bent on overrunning world markets. Critics such as Senator Donald Riegle Jr. of Michigan and W.J. Sanders III, chairman of Advanced Micro Devices, a California semiconductor company, complain that Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) encourages the formation of cartels and also targets promising industries for special research grants. Some economists, businessmen and politicians are calling for a U.S. industrial policy to counteract Japan's government planning.

More and more American experts on Japan, however, are challenging the notion that industrial policy is the main force behind the country's economic power. Government assistance has helped some Japanese industries, such as computer chips and machine tools, but has had little impact on many others. Economics Professor Hugh Patrick of Yale points out that the auto and consumer electronics industries, two of Japan's greatest triumphs, have received no special breaks from the government. Says Philip Trezise, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington: "The Japanese have had success in foreign trade because of their competitiveness at home."

MITI has sometimes put its money on the wrong horses. During the early 1950s, when a young company that was later to become known as Sony was getting excited about a new invention from the U.S. called the transistor, MITI chose to help two other firms engaged in making soon-to-be-obsolete vacuum tubes. MITI also had no say in Sony's decisions to market Betamax video-cassette recorders and Walkman portable stereos, two of the company's fastest-selling products. Japan is the leading manufacturer of industrial robots, but MITI played no role in financing their development.

Contrary to the popular perception, Japan is not unusually dependent on exports. The country ships out only 13% of its gross national product, while Britain exports 20.5%, West Germany 26.7% and Canada 29%. Among the major non-Communist industrial countries, only the U.S. exports less of its G.N.P.: 6.9%. For most Japanese companies, the biggest sales and greatest competitive challenges come in the domestic marketplace. Hitachi, Japan's largest manufacturer of electronic goods, exports only 27% of its production.

Competition can be as rough-and-tumble inside Japan as anywhere else in the world. Price cutting is relentless and often ruinous. A Casio digital wristwatch that cost $120 five years ago sells today in Japan for only $12 to $15. Since 1975 the price of a simple hand-held calculator has decreased from about $25 to $10. That drop has forced more than 30 Japanese companies out of the calculator business, leaving six firms at the moment. Says Kenichi Ohmae, manager of Tokyo operations for the McKinsey & Co. business-

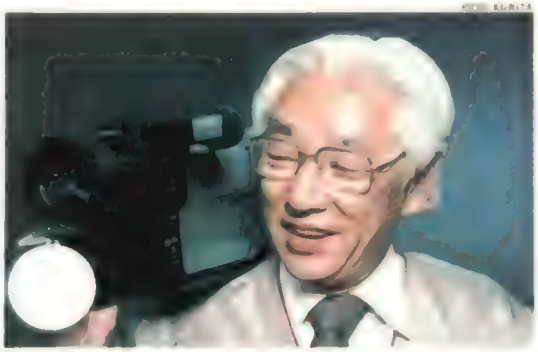
A small shop with a dazzling array of choices in

Akihabara: "The winners look less like planners than participants in a demolition derby"

consulting firm: "By no definition can this fierce rivalry be construed as rational long-term planning. Even the winners look less like planners than participants in a demolition derby."

The contestants cannot sacrifice quality to slash prices, because Japanese consumers are famous for their fussiness. When shopping for refrigerators, they feel the surface of the units to make sure that screwheads do not protrude and that the corners are round and smooth. Picky customers also slam the doors to find out how noisy they will be. Auto buyers check the upholstery for the proper stitching, open the hood to look at the welds and examine the paint job inside the trunk. Any company that does not meet the prevailing quality standards is soon in trouble

Japanese companies are renowned for copying Western products, but they devote just as much energy to imitating and topping one another. Since Sony brought out the successful Walkman in 1979, twelve other firms have marketed competing models. To stay ahead of copycats, Sony has had to upgrade and refine the product continually to give it distinctive features. The company now has eleven different Walkman models, the latest being water- and sand-resistant for use at the beach. Camera manufacturers leapfrog one another with advanced equipment that is progressively easier to use. Minolta has just brought out a 35-mm automatic-focus camera with a voice synthesizer that announces when a flash is needed or the film has run out. The nine Japanese companies that make video-cassette recorders unveiled 54 new models last year. Says Sony Co-Founder Akio Morita: "The nature of business is to make your own product obsolete. If we don't do it ourselves, we know our competitors will do it for us. That's why we always try to come up with something new. That is our incentive, our driving force." Sony is one of many Japanese firms that established their reputations overseas before being able to make much headway in the formidable domestic market



Sony's Morita first established his firm's reputation overseas

While American corporations tend to focus on short-term profits as the best gauge of success, Japanese companies are more con-

cerned about market share and are often willing to sacrifice immediate earnings to enlarge their piece of the market. Only eight years ago, Canon was languishing with an 18% share of Japanese camera sales, putting the company in third place behind Asahi (Pentax) and Nikon. After rolling out a series of new models backed by heavy advertising, Canon now ranks first, with more than 30% of the market.

Breakneck competition makes information a precious commodity. Japanese companies comb mountains of scientific literature for hints of technological advances. Engineers are as familiar with the opposition's product line as with their own. Whenever a firm puts out a new model, rivals immediately disassemble it to analyze its parts.

This thirst for information has served Japanese companies well in their international forays. Before leaping into a foreign market, they painstakingly reconnoiter the competition, consumer tastes and cultural pitfalls. They like to know everything about the people and companies they do business with. Says San Francisco Banker Gardner Jacobs of his dealings with the Japanese: "They kept my pedigree in a little black book. They knew how many kids I had and where I lived. I always maintained they knew what color shorts I wore."

Sometimes, however, this information gathering turns into espionage. Last year several employees of Hitachi, a major computer manufacturer, were snared buying IBM trade secrets from FBI agents. Inside Japan, companies go to great lengths to keep confidential information from one another. Some firms provide employee-only nightclubs, where workers can have a drink and unwind without fear that a competitor's spy is listening from the next stool.

The Japanese learn to compete early in life. Starting with kindergarten, they run a brutal educational gauntlet that gradually separates winners from losers. Young Japanese who join large corporations learn to set aside that kind of competitiveness in favor of cooperation and consensus. Members of the team share information and skills for the greater good of the company. As a result, the workplace becomes like a harmonious home.

The competitive spirit does not disappear, however. It is merely redirected toward competing corporations. Most Japanese spend their entire careers with a single company and develop an intense loyalty that can be even stronger than family ties. A Japanese diplomat in New York recalls what happened when his brother joined Mitsubishi Corp., the giant trading company: "Mitsubishi's competitors became his enemies, even more so than the Soviet Union." The desire to beat the opposition for the glory of his company is a powerful force that motivates the Japanese worker.

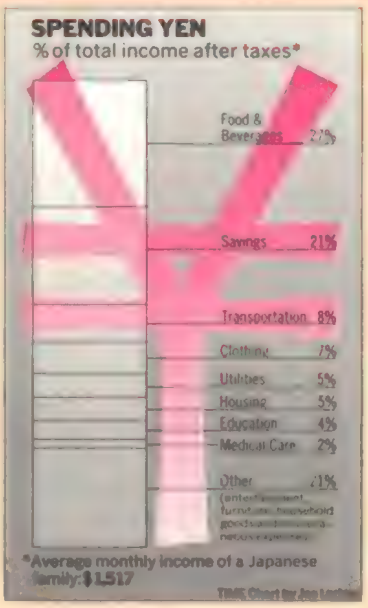
For many years, MITI has tried to keep competition within bounds. The agency generally believes that an industry functions best if it is dominated by a few big firms that can reap the benefits of large-scale production. Nonetheless, Japanese businessmen have frequently ignored MITI's philosophy and advice. In the early 1960s, MITI tried to persuade the then ten Japanese automakers to merge into two companies: Toyota and Nissan. Only one complied, joining Nissan. Later in the decade, MITI wanted to keep Honda, the motorcycle firm, out of the auto business. But Soichiro Honda, the company's legendary founder, who was known as Old Man Thunder, defied the government, brought out his minicars and built the firm into Japan's third largest auto manufacturer behind Toyota and Nissan. In industries that are growing, MITI has been unable to curb competition. "It's a free-for-all," says James Abegglen, vice president of the Boston Consulting Group, "like a barroom brawl with no mercy shown."

MITI has had more success with dampening competition in declining industries. In many cases, the government has been willing to bend its antitrust laws to permit cooperation among companies. When the shipbuilding business started to sag in the 1970s, MITI allowed the firms to form a cartel that would share orders. In that way, the decline was evenly distributed. The strategy gave the companies time to diversify, while gradually reducing their production. MITI is now encouraging the formation of similar cartels in the paper, petrochemical and aluminum industries.

The Japanese attitude is quite different from what AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and other advocates of a U.S. industrial policy suggest when they call for government aid to smokestack America. While Kirkland and his allies seek to strengthen ailing industries, MITI's goal is to shrink them slowly but steadily so that resources can be shifted to more promising fields.

MITI's policy may sometimes prolong the life of large corporations, but it does not help the thousands of tiny firms that battle one another in fragmented industries like textiles. Small businesses account for roughly 70% of all Japanese output, *vs.* about 40% in the U.S. In that part of the economy, competition is unfettered, and the death rate is high. Last year in the middle of the worst recession since the Great Depression, the U.S. had 25,000 bankruptcies, but Japan had 17,000, even though its economy is only a third as big and was actually growing at 3%.

Japan's trading partners complain that the country allows little competition from foreign intruders. The government, critics charge, blocks most imports with tariffs, quotas and subtler barriers like arbitrary inspection procedures. In addition, many foreign companies say that they have had trouble breaking into Japan's complex distribution system and



The Good Life

A decade ago, Japanese workers yearned for what was then considered the three essentials of modern life: a car, a color television set and an air conditioner. Today those products are commonplace. The number of families with cars has grown from 17% in 1970 to 62%; those with color TVs from 26% to 98.9%; those with air conditioners from 5.9% to 40%. Signs of a national shopping spree are everywhere. A new government survey of 65,000 families found that the most popular consumer purchases include video tape recorders ($700) and pianos ($3,000).

Single women living with their parents are among the most conspicuous consumers. They outfit themselves with imported designer ensembles, including Louis Vuitton handbags ($750), Hermès scarves ($166) and Yves Saint Laurent shoes ($133). Japanese women also spend heavily on traditional dress. An upper-middle-class woman may own 25 kimonos with a total value of at least $25,000.

The biggest difference between Japanese and American spending habits is that the Japanese save more and spend more on food, but Americans pay out more for housing. The Japanese save 21% of disposable income, while Americans are currently squirreling away 5.7%. The typical Japanese family devotes 27.5% of its money to food, compared with 16.2% for the U.S. family. On the other hand, the Japanese spend just 5% of income on housing, while Americans put out 15%.

overcoming a "Buy Japanese" attitude.

Without question, Japan long pursued a consciously protectionist policy. In recent years, however, the country has been opening up, particularly under the new government of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. Since early 1982 the Japanese have cut tariffs on 323 items. The average Japanese tariff on mining and manufacturing products is now 3%, compared with 4% in the U.S. and 5% in the European Community. The country has also eliminated quotas on 134 items and dismantled scores of nontariff barriers. American-made appliances, for example, no longer have to be inspected in Japan if they have already been approved in the U.S. by Underwriters Laboratories.

Some irritating obstacles remain. Japanese inspectors still reject American plywood if the knotholes are too wide. Nonetheless, Larry Snowden, president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan, sounds confident when he says that the barriers are coming down: "I know some of our oldtimers say that they've heard it all before, but I am convinced this government means business and that genuine change is taking place right now."

Indeed, many American companies are flourishing in Japan. Examples: Schick, with 70% of safety-razor sales; IBM, with about 40% of the computer business; Xerox with 20% of the copier market. The Japanese argue that other U.S. firms could have the same success if they worked somewhat harder at it. American firms have often refused to adapt their products to suit Japanese tastes. Because they drive on the left side of the road, most Japanese like their autos to have steering wheels on the right, but as yet no U.S. company has been willing to build such models for shipment to Japan.

The rivalry between the U.S. and Japan is sure to grow increasingly intense. The Japanese have set their sights on America's premier growth industry: computers. Already, MITI has poured $375 million in research money into the computer industry.

In the end, however, the amount of money that the Japanese government spends is not likely to be the decisive factor in who wins the computer race. In fact, Thomas Hout, a Japan expert at the Boston Consulting Group, suggests that MITI's aid might actually hurt Japanese companies if it dulls some of their individual initiative. The strength of the Japanese computer industry is its competitiveness. Some 30 manufacturers, for example, are battling it out in the market for word-processing equipment.

American companies are understandably eager to study Japan's management style, and U.S. politicians are looking at the Japanese industrial policy. But the main lesson of Japan's success is actually very simple and already well known. It is merely that competition in a tough marketplace usually produces spectacular results. —*By Charles P. Alexander. Reported by Edwin M. Reingold/Tokyo*

The Negotiation Waltz

Bargaining takes patience, politeness and preparation

The knot tightens in the Western businessman's stomach as he peers glumly at the Japanese negotiating team across the table. The executive's flight leaves early tomorrow. His home office has been pressing him to complete a deal quickly. But although the talks have dragged on for days, the key issues have barely been discussed. "What is this?" the frustrated businessman wonders. "Don't these people know that time is money?"

Such questions can arise with disquieting force and frequency when Western executives confront the Japanese. Foreigners eager to do business must often endure endless rounds of what seems to be aimless talks, dinners and drinks. Still, they have little choice but to put up with the ceremony if they hope to gain access to Japan's vast domestic market.

The exotic set of rituals seen during the talks," recalls Joseph Davis, director of international marketing for Tennessee.

Japanese companies negotiate slowly because everyone from junior management to major shareholders must approve a deal, in keeping with the national tradition of consensus. Startled Western executives may therefore find themselves confronting negotiating teams of ten or 15 Japanese. Such phalanxes, moreover, may be only the beginning. The faces can change from session to session as new experts are added for different topics.

The Japanese are usually minutely well informed about their prospective partners. Recalls a onetime official of BL PLC (formerly British Leyland) who worked on a joint agreement with Honda: "The Japanese negotiators seemed to know more about our labor and managerial problems than we did."

negotiations is the face Japan presents to the world of business. Japanese negotiators are exquisitely polite and agonizingly vague, yet at the same time, they are determined to win the best possible deal.

The most striking feature of this system of bargaining is the huge amount of time it consumes. "They can carry on negotiations until you're just plain tired of it," says Bernard Appel, an executive vice president of the Radio Shack division of Tandy Corp., which annually does more than $200 million worth of business with Japan. In Australia, Attorney Paul Davis offers clients a simple rule of thumb: allow five times as long as usual when doing business in Japan.

Executives of Nissan Motor Manufacturing Corp. spent 15 months negotiating with Tennessee state officials over the site for a $660 million assembly plant that produced its first light truck in Smyrna in June. "The Japanese practice of asking the same questions ten to twelve times, of four or five different sources, greatly protracted

At first the Japanese appear to have remarkably little interest in the business at hand. Their conversation is likely to dwell at length on social and family concerns rather than on products and prices. Notes Andreas Meckel, secretary-general of the Japanese economic promotion office in Düsseldorf: "German and American businessmen wish to come to the main point straightaway, while Japanese want to create a personal atmosphere."

The Japanese stress personal relations because they are interested in the long-term implementation of an agreement. Western businessmen, on the other hand, may tend to look more at the shorter term. "The American feeling is that it's the horse buyer's fault if he fails to ask whether a horse is blind," says George White of the Harvard Business School. "For the Japanese, however, a deal is more of a discussion of where mutual interests lie."

The pursuit of those mutual interests inevitably leads through numerous restaurants and bars. The Japanese treat

wining and dining as part of their business day, many managers wield expense accounts that rival their salaries.

Japanese firms will end talks suddenly when they see trouble ahead. Last May, executives of Nippon Kokan K.K., Japan's second largest steelmaker, halted negotiations to buy Ford's Rouge Steel Co., mainly because it could not reach a labor-concession agreement with the United Auto Workers. "What the Japanese wanted most was a totally dedicated and committed work force like they have in their plants," said Thomas Page, a Ford executive vice president.

Experts on Japanese business methods have compiled numerous guidelines for foreign negotiators. One of the first is that women should not be part of any formal talks. "Women are simply not accepted as business equals in Japan," notes a negotiator for a major U.S. electronics firm. Japanese women are all but barred from the management of big companies, and the important after-hours business socializing in Japan is exclusively stag. Another admonition is not to send someone under 35 to conduct negotiations. Says an American official with a high-tech firm: "You are insulting the Japanese by sending a young man to deal with a senior executive, who is likely to be 65."

Foreign businessmen must be wary of mistaking Japanese politeness for agreement. A Japanese negotiator may frequently nod and say *"hai"* (yes) during talks. But the word is also used to signify that the conversation is being followed, much like the English "uh-huh," or "I see." So yes is not always yes.

Japanese negotiators can also confuse outsiders by lapsing into silence to mull a point. Western businessmen may then jump into that pool of silence, sometimes to their regret. Howard Van Zandt, a professor at the University of Texas at Dallas who spent 17 years as ITT's top manager in Japan, recalls how the head of a Japanese firm did nothing when a contract was presented for his signature. Van Zandt's ITT boss then hastily sweetened the deal by $250,000. Says Van Zandt: "If he had waited a few more minutes, he would have saved the company a quarter of a million dollars."

Evasiveness is another characteristic that foreign businessmen may encounter. The Japanese, who frequently learn to suppress their views out of deference to their seniors, often hate to be pinned down. Add to this the Japanese tendency to tell listeners what they seem to want to hear and a negotiator can easily go astray.

The successful negotiation between Japanese and Western businessmen usually ends up looking very much like one between two Japanese. The visiting executive never lets on what he is really thinking, has unending patience, and is unfailingly polite. In short, he acts very Japanese. —*By John Greenwald. Reported by Sam Allis/Houston and Adam Zagorin/New York*

A Hard Day's Night

As soon as Kotaro Nohmura, an executive director of Taiyo Kogyo, an Osaka tent manufacturer, arrives home from work at nearly midnight, he looks in on his four children. They are asleep, just as they were when he left for work at 7:30 that morning. A few fond glances are usually the only contact Nohmura, 37, has with his two sons (7 and 4 months) and two daughters (5 and 9) during the week. Like most Japanese executives, his day starts early and ends only after a long night of business entertaining.

Nohmura earns $51,000 a year before taxes, which enables him to house his family in a four-room apartment in the outskirts of Kobe, a port city. Six days a week, he gets up at 7 and eats a Western-style breakfast prepared by his 32-year-old wife Sanae. Then he is out the door and into a Toyota Crown sedan, which he drives 40 minutes to his company's head office in a bustling section of Osaka (pop. 2.6 million).

Each Monday morning at 8:30, Nohmura and 100 co-workers assemble for *chokai*, a corporate pep rally, where they kick off the week by reciting twelve company creeds. (No. 7: "Once you've grabbed hold of a potential piece of business, never let it go, no matter what—even at the risk of your own life.") One piece of business that Nohmura is grabbing involves the $4 billion science and technology fair in Tsukuba in 1985. It will be needing giant tents to accommodate sightseers.

The young executive is driven not only by his country's competitive culture but also by family ties. His father is the founder and chairman of the company, which had revenues last year of $106 million. "If I failed to do as well as or better than the rest of the people in the company, I would end up a laughingstock as an executive," he says.

Nohmura spends most of his mornings at his desk in a cubbyhole office. He likes his small space, saying, "I can get almost everything I need without having to stand up every time." There he writes reports and discusses new tent designs with engineers. The executive almost never goes to business lunches, preferring a quick snack of a bowl of noodles at a nearby restaurant. He spends the afternoon making the rounds of local customers and inspecting tents being constructed. Then he calls it a day at about 5:30.

Kotaro Nohmura in his cubbyhole office in Osaka

But Nohmura's work is far from finished. On a typical recent evening he first went to a meeting of the Osaka Jaycees, where he serves as vice chairman. He and fellow Jaycees discussed the national elections with a writer from an Osaka newspaper. The group's conclusion: more support was needed for conservative legislators. Nohmura says, "I love these kinds of meetings. Politics, after all, is bound to have an impact on business."

After the Jaycees' session, Nohmura went on to his evening's business entertainment. He escorted a favored client and one of the client's associates to an elegant restaurant ($110 a person) where, seated on cushions on a *tatami*-covered floor, they dined on a twelve-course meal that included clear soup, sashimi and tempura. That contrasted with the group's next stop, a Western-style nightspot, where Cardin-clad hostesses poured liberal amounts of whisky and brandy. Cost for the after-dinner stop, which continued until well after 11 p.m., was $360. "I don't like entertaining," says Nohmura, "but it has become an institution. If you persist in being a reformer, you would go to pieces in business. That, naturally, is something I have to avoid—no matter what."

When Nohmura returned home, his wife greeted him at the door. Then over a quiet cup of green tea, the couple talked about the coming Sunday, when the whole family would be going out to the beach for a picnic. Sunday will constitute Nohmura's one day off.

At the End of a Floating Pipeline

An energy-poor country squeezes the most out of every drop of oil

Japan is the terminus for a floating pipeline, a long convoy of supertankers that stretches 6,500 miles from the Persian Gulf through the Strait of Malacca, into the South China Sea and finally to Japanese ports. From those tankers and others pour 99.8% of the country's oil and 70% of its total energy needs. Japan also imports 90.7% of its natural gas and 81.8% of its coal. The whole edifice of Japanese prosperity is built on those foreign energy sources

As a result of that dependence, Japan is the wheeler-dealer of the world energy trade. Oil is oil to the Japanese; it matters not who sells it or where it comes from, so long as it keeps flowing. Though such an attitude can be partly excused because oil is Japan's lifeblood, it has sometimes offended Westerners

The Japanese, for example, continued to buy oil from Iran at a time when Washington had requested that they stop purchases because of the 1979-80 hostage crisis. And they were among the first to start buying again after the hostages were released. More recently, the Japanese have been playing the world oil glut to their advantage in dealing with Iran. Several Japanese trading houses in May struck deals with the Iranians to get oil at 20¢ to 50¢ below OPEC's official price of $28 per bbl

The Japanese are eager to reduce their dependence on Middle Eastern energy sources and are looking for alternatives. They would like to buy U.S. crude from Alaska, which is 2,700 miles closer than Iran. Mike Mansfield, the U.S. Ambassador to Japan, and oil-industry officials have been arguing that the Japanese should be allowed to buy Alaskan oil. That, says Mansfield, would help correct the balance of trade between Japan and the U.S. and also save transportation costs for both countries. But the proposal has been blocked by American laws that prevent the export of Alaskan crude

Japan's aggressive activity in world energy markets reflects the country's experience in the early 1970s. Few nations went through a more wrenching readjustment after the 1973-74 oil shock, when the price of crude rose in less than a year from about $2 to more than $11 per bbl. Before those hikes, Japan's oil consumption had been growing at 15% annually, encouraged by a government policy that de-emphasized the use of coal. When the price of oil jumped, Japan's economy teetered. Factories closed, unemployment rose, inflation zoomed. The Japanese economic miracle appeared to be ending.

But when the second energy shock hit, in 1979, when OPEC increased prices from $13 to $24 per bbl, in the wake of the Iranian revolution, the Japanese had learned to deal with oil shortages. They not only survived that crisis, they prospered. Industrial production was up 10% during the second half of 1979, and oil consumption was down 2.8%. In the first two quarters of 1980, the gross national product went up 5.6%.

What had happened between the two oil shocks was the development of perhaps the world's most coherent and effective energy program. The entire thrust of Japanese energy policy starting in the early 1970s was to make less oil do more. Average annual oil consumption per person in Japan has declined about 20% since 1972. The Japanese pushed conservation by turning off electric lights, trimming back service-station hours, lowering commercial-building temperatures and shutting down escalators. Many other countries, of course, took the same measures, but the Japanese were more successful. Japanese refrigerators now use only about half the electricity of the 1973 models, and air conditioners 20% less. A 19-inch television set that used 140 watts in 1973 today needs less than 95. The government also started a new three-tier pricing system for electricity that puts a surcharge on the rate for heavy residential users

The Japanese also used the oil shortages to make their industries more efficient. Large industrial firms in such sectors as cement, pulp and paper, and transit made major adjustments to comply with the government's demand for energy conservation. Many steel companies fitted blast furnaces with recovery turbines that use the pressure at the top of the furnaces to generate electricity for other steel-mill uses. Continuous casting, in which molten metal is formed directly into products for shipment and bypasses the cooling stages, helped decrease by 10% the amount of energy required to make a ton of steel. From 1973 to 1979, Japanese planners reduced the energy needed to make cars by 25% and the fuel necessary for chemicals by 23%. Total industrial-energy use has declined by about 8% since the early 1970s.

In areas where significant fuel conservation could not be achieved, whole industries shrank drastically. Aluminum smelting, which requires huge amounts of expensive electricity, employed more than 9,000 people in 1972, but today Japan imports almost all its aluminum. The Japanese petrochemical industry was severely cut back

These efforts paid off handsomely. The Japanese now use a greater amount of precious oil in industries that produce exports. Last year 53.5% of every barrel of oil went to industrial purposes (compared with 29.3% in the U.S.), while only 20.6% went to transportation and 22.2% to heating.

Even with that success, the government continues to press ahead with a policy to promote alternatives to imported oil, and it has not cut back on those programs despite currently lower world petroleum prices. Nuclear plants now provide about 12% of Japan's electric power. The country at present has 23 nuclear plants in operation, and it has 19 more planned or under construction. Liquefied natural gas produces about 18% of total energy needs, hydroelectricity 19.8% and coal 2.6%. Oil-burning thermal plants provide only 46.6% of electricity at present, *vs.* almost 100% a decade ago. The Japanese are determined to push their alternative energy program through to success, and so far they are right on target. The country has lowered its dependence on imported oil for energy needs from 80.3% in 1972 to about 70%. The new goal is to get it down to 56.5% by 1990. —*By John S. DeMott. Reported by Edwin M. Reingold/Tokyo*

Tanker offloading its precious cargo of crude at a storage depot near Kagoshima

Constantly wheeling and dealing in world markets to guarantee that the flow never stops.

A true-all Kyoto maiko, or junior geisha

At the extreme of formal etiquette, Japanese artificiality becomes a second nature

The Art of All They Do

A world of infinite desires in finite time and space

特別号 文化

For a thousand years, the Japanese have been working on a problem that Americans are only now beginning to see: How can you make a culture of congestion work, and turn constriction to advantage? The main cultural myth of America centers on infinite space, limitless resources, and the energies they foster. Without these, such diverse cultural emblems as *Moby Dick*, '50s tail fins, westerns and the paintings of Jackson Pollock would not exist. Neither would those words in the Declaration of Independence, so bizarre to the Japanese, about pursuing happiness. When they find their space is finite, their resources limited and their social energy grossly deformed by the friction of overcrowding, Americans get confused and resentful; they see the world in terms of rights, whose scope is truncated by congestion.

The Japanese, who see their world in terms of duties and obligations, have learned to do so because they have always had to live with constraint. If you live on an island (to paraphrase an English poet who did) you cannot be one. The Japanese have evolved a whole system of forms, etiquette and images, a culture that makes the compression of numbers tolerable. It strikes an endlessly interesting balance between artifice and nature. The three legs of this system are adaptation, consensus and miniaturization.

It is a common fantasy of Westerners that there was once an Old Japan (samurais, geishas, moon watching from the *tatami*) that was destroyed after 1945 by the trauma of Westernization, so that the New Japan ceased in some basic way to be Japanese. Nothing could be further from the truth. What the Japanese do, and always have done, is much more subtle. They adapt what they need from other cultures. They seem always to be submitting—sometimes masochistically—to cultural colonizations, of which the American is only the most recent. But what they make of the acquired form is invariably Japanese.

This has been going on since the 6th century, with the result that few of the accumulated images that spell "typical Japan" to a foreigner were invented by the Japanese themselves. Zen Buddhism was an import, and pagodas and brush calligraphy and bonsai trees (originally known to the Chinese as *penjing*). Likewise the microchip and the small, inexpensive car. Tempura, the name of one of the Japanese dishes most popular among foreigners, is a mangled Latin word that refers to the Portuguese Catholic propensity to eat fish on Fridays as penance, as distinct from the Japanese practice of eating it every day for pleasure. Even Kobe beef, on which every Japanese dotes when he can afford to, is a Western import. The first cow butchered in Japan died for the table of an American consul in Shimoda in the 1850s, and a monument has since been raised to it by the butchers' association of Japan. Before that, cattle

were not eaten. The idea of eating beef was as strange as that of eating roast tractor parts.

A culture of adaptation saves time and energy. It promotes service and flexibility. It enables its members to concentrate on refinements, rather than lose themselves in Promethean false starts. They can treat the whole world as their unpaid research lab. Japan made cars and trucks before World War II, but the prototype that launched the world triumphs of the Japanese auto industry was the American Jeep, a tough, open, naive and compact vehicle that became a common sight in the country after 1945. It was a Volkswagen without a *Volk*. It showed, as no Buick staff car could, that four wheels and a motor could mean democracy and access. It became a prime motif in the envy of the vanquished for the victors.

So did the imagery of the visitors' PX: the white gleam of refrigerators and stove enamel, the iconography of GE and Hoover, so utterly different from the traditional dimness of the Japanese house and the mandatory drabness of wartime, with its austerity colors and nocturnal blackout. On a popular level, the war had caused an immense disenchantment with traditional Japanese architecture, wood and paper: "weak" materials, which burned. Concrete and steel were the substances of a victor culture, and the huge termitary cities of Japan were rebuilt with them.

The Japanese thus embraced the Bauhaus. Before the war, that small school in Germany had seemed distant and unimportant to most Japanese architects; now it, and the homogeneous systems of environmental design it stood for, became an obsession with younger architects at Tokyo University. In 1954 Walter Gropius came to Japan to give a series of lectures, only to discover that an extraordinary loop of adaptation had taken place. What Gropius liked in Japan was its traditional architecture, epitomized by the Katsura Imperial Villa in Kyoto. The kind of modernism he stood for was heavily indebted to Japanese sources, transmitted to Germany nearly 50 years before by Frank Lloyd Wright, not just in details or quotations of carpentry, but in fundamentals, such as the open plan and the design of furniture. Thus a German brought Japan back to the Japanese, and the prestige of traditional vernacular among Japanese architects zoomed: a fact that might give pause to those who think that the mission of the Bauhaus was to standardize buildings everywhere. In effect, it enabled the Japanese to adapt to themselves. Perhaps this could have happened only to people accustomed, time out of mind, to living with two or three cultures simultaneously, like a farmer addressing one Shinto god after another until he gets the result he needs.

■ ■ ■

Japanese food, the most refined if not the most varied in the world, is wholly a product of instinctive modular thinking. The intrepid traveler may find himself at 5 a.m., at the end or the beginning of his day, in a *sushi* restaurant near the prodigious fish market at Tsukiji in Tokyo, where nearly all the protein for 11 million people arrives fresh before dawn and is gone by 9 a.m. He will breakfast on fatty raw tuna belly, live tiger shrimp, abalone rectums and, if he is lucky, the sperm of red snapper. Such things are not grotesque but delicious; the neophyte must approach them in a spirit of hedonistic calm, interspersing them with commoner raw morsels such as lean tuna or squid.

Pattern of *sushi* on its lacquer tray

Japanese food is modular; the ideal gastronomic experience is a line of small events

French cuisine, in its classic forms, is mostly verbs and modifiers: the mixing, processing and transforming of raw material. High Japanese cooking, whose root is the austere *kaiseki* style associated with the tea ceremony, is by contrast all nouns. It is devoted to the thing-as-such, presented in small units with the precision of the razor knives that cut it and the picky exactitude of the little chopsticks that bring it to the mouth. Its décor is astringent, not sweet. Japanese cuisine's simplicity is a very high fiction, requiring too much skilled labor for it to be replicated in New York or London.

One cook to every ten guests is a rule of thumb. The restaurant run by perhaps the greatest cook in Kyoto, Moto Nagata, seats ten people, and no tip will get you in; the Japanese rarely accept tips. Such cooking flourishes because few Japanese entertain at home. Phrases like "home cooking" do not translate into Japanese with their overtones intact. They suggest strain and bumbling, not warmth and sincerity.

In essence, Japanese food is modular food, miniaturized, and the ideal gastronomic experience is a line of small, distinct events rather than a symphony (or cacophony) of spreading transformations. As with food, so with design and technology. To Kenji Ekuan, 52, a former Buddhist priest who founded GK Industrial Design Associates, Japan's largest and most innovative design firm, the matter is partly a philosophical one. "We Japanese," he says, "are the most avaricious people. Infinite desires but in finite time and space." To Ekuan the traditional *bento-bako*—the stacked lunch box packed with its careful array of distinct morsels—is the true ancestor of that emblem of modern Japan, the box full of microchips. Both represent a culture of linear flow: the processing of information, sensuous or electronic, through standardized components that can modulate content rapidly and to an infinite degree by rearrangement. The *bento-bako* is the archetype of modular coordination; food culture and high tech are, in spirit, the same. In short, the TV dinner begat the TV set, so to speak.

The preference for modules over mixtures pervades the culture, and always has. Japanese color tends not to be harmonic or atmospheric: it is distinct, a sequence of clear notes struck on the retina. To a greater degree than in Western art, each color comes equipped with its own symbolic associations, which remain more or less constant through its use in architecture, print, neon, fabric design, packaging, food or painting. Red, for instance, pertains to magic and sorcery, vitality, fire and the conquest of evil spirits. Japanese color is grounded in nature: every indigo or cobalt dye runs, as it were, back to the sea. But the circuit between nature and abstraction is far shorter than in the West. Color has the peremptory quality of calligraphy: a gesture, an unmediated act.

■ ■ ■

The colored substance that had the most influence on the structure of Japanese taste is a green powder called *matcha*, or ceremonial tea. Whisked with hot water to a bitter jade froth and served in coarse-looking, irregular bowls, it is the basis of *cha-no-yu*, the tea ceremony. The aesthetic of tea has permeated all visual culture in Japan, from architecture to the appreciation of nature.

Tea was a Chinese import like Buddhism, and the histories of both are twined inextricably: together they afford the prime example of how the Japanese throughout their history have

taken foreign forms and metabolized them into wholly Japanese practices. In time, tea came to define the difference between the Chinese and Japanese ideals of exalted beauty: the former based on symmetry and minute gradations of fixed etiquette, the latter on irregularity and "natural" grace. Sen No Rikyu (1521-91), greatest of the tea masters, established *cha-no-yu* as a kind of psychic enclave in which warlord, samurai, priest and scholar could shed the burdens of rank and power by refreshing themselves at the well of nature. A developed Japanese form of Rousseau's "natural man," living in harmony with a world he has not made, is to be found in the teahouse and the culture it epitomizes: neutral colors, simple gestures, the uncarved block, the silent garden, sober dress—and check your swords at the door.

Tea culture revolves around two key ideas, *sabi* and *wabi*. *Sabi* suggests patina or decomposition: the retreat of bright new substance into a world of obscurity and hints. It is what a cypress doorframe acquires after three centuries of sliding the *shoji* back and forth. It is what Japanese collectors got when they left their silverware to tarnish, instead of polishing it to a bright Tiffany glitter. *Wabi* is an older and wider concept. It conveys not the dryness and stillness of *sabi*, but an aristocratic use of "poor," rustic materials. Tea is the origin of much of Japanese design since the 15th century; in fact, the nearest thing to the Western concept of "design"—at least before the 1950s and the Western flood—was the word *isho*, used in explication of tea culture.

Form has a way of decaying into formalism, especially when the original form was antiformalist. Nowadays Japanese department stores carry rows of cases displaying tea bowls and caddies; new ones—never mind the old, which may cost more than a suburban house—bear price tags of $15,000. If one suggests that this is steep for a new teacup, however dense with *sabi* and *wabi* it may be, one is told that such objects are signed on the box by a noted living tea master. This imprimatur, a fabulously profitable extension of Marcel Duchamp's solitary act of declaring a urinal a work of art, gives the bowl its pedigree and value. Thus the tea implements are snapped up by the rich and fashion-tyrannized; and the tea masters make fortunes, what with certifying tea ware by the truckload, writing syndicated columns, running tea-school franchises and in general milking *matcha* for all it is worth.

The commercialization of *cha-no-yu* illustrates a wider fact about Japan: namely that it is the best country in the world in which to study the impact of mass audiences on elite cultural forms. When something like tea becomes so popular, is it democratized? Not necessarily. It may become more snobbish, taking on a coercive preciousness to sustain its mystique when the old mechanisms of aristocratic patronage in small groups have corroded. Japanese snobbery, Japanese cultural insecurity, are hog heaven for merchandisers: once they get into a cultural feeding frenzy, the Japanese can make Rodeo Drive look modest.

■ ■ ■

They revere nature, but they have been running out of it for the past 300 years. Thus their appreciation of it is miniaturized, subdivided and typified: the modular scheme again. Unlike Americans, the Japanese *know* they have no more space. Hence their habits of tourism: in their homeland (as out of it) the Japanese tend to concentrate on exemplary sights and ignore whatever lies in between them. These sights, like the tea bowls, have been "signed" by usage, ratified by the national passion for consensus.

For this reason, they are permanently jammed, for the Japanese also like to contemplate nature in groups. They do not fancy themselves as Americans do, as solitaries contemplating the infinite in deep valleys. Mr. Matsuda has nothing against the infinite, but he likes the same bits of it that his friends like. The bitterness felt by the Winnebago driver on finding that he must share a view in the Rockies with a dozen other motorized campers is not felt in Japan. The purest effusion of tourist nostalgia in Japan is a verse, attributed by legend to the 17th century poet Matsuo Basho, concerning an archipelago in north Japan:

Ah, Matsushima!
Ah, Matsushima, ah!
Matsushima, ah!

Whatever this may lose in translation, those four sighs are clearly addressed to a group. Everyone else has been to Matsushima too, so there is no need to describe it.

Moss and leaf in a temple garden

One gazes down and imagines oneself floating high over a rolling landscape

There is an equation behind this: Famous View divided by Mass Audience equals Acute Miniaturization. Nature becomes "nature," a metaphor of itself. At the highest cultural level, this is expressed by the classical Zen gardens. Saihoji, the Moss Temple in Kyoto, has 4.5 acres carpeted with some 120 kinds of moss, an inexpressibly sensuous green skin. It conflates the near and the far; as you gaze down at a patch of *hinoki* moss, with its tiny cypress-like spears thrusting an inch above the green, you imagine yourself hovering high over a rolling landscape of mountain and forest.

Events in the Moss Temple epitomized what happens to Japanese nature under the stress of mass enthusiasm. By 1972 up to 10,000 people a day were streaming through its turnstiles. Then the exhaust gases from tour buses began to kill the moss. Brown patches appeared, then bald ones. The abbot, a sturdy and composed monk named Kaiko Fujita, realized that the garden had earned enough cash from mass tourism. He then sharply restricted public access to it. There was an outcry in the press about the elitism of this gesture. But as the abbot insists, elitism with moss is better than democracy with none. The moss is now in perfect shape. Thus Abbot Fujita becomes a hero of conservation, but on the scale of the *bento-bako* or the microchip, not the wilderness. Meanwhile, one can always go and consort with Miki Mausu in Tokyo Disneyland to escape the terrible crush in the other Zen gardens like Ryoanji.

■ ■ ■

The love of consensus and accommodation has had deep effects on the visual culture of modern Japan, making that culture seem both familiar and strange to Western eyes, as though the rug had been snatched out from under the pattern. It partly explains, for instance, why the prestige of most contemporary painting and sculpture is low in Japan, while designers and architects enjoy an almost unparalleled celebrity and cultural leverage.

In all their borrowings from the West, the Japanese never acquired the cult of the artist as Agonistic Hero. There is no

Japanese Michelangelo or Van Gogh (or perhaps one should say that the Japanese Van Gogh *is* Van Gogh). The very idea of the avant-garde, that ruling myth in terms of which a century of artists from Manet to Joseph Beuys is conventionally discussed, is purely Western and has never had more than a surface appeal to the Japanese. The idea of cultural norms based on confrontation and "radical" displays of ego strikes them as embarrassing. The scheme whose parody is now being played to exhaustion among the graffitists and plate breakers of Soho—culture as a series of self-conscious grabs and Oedipal rebellions, cloning one short-lived artist-hero after another—is not the model of current Japanese art.

Does this produce a harmonious and vivid fine art culture? Not at all. It only means that Japanese collectors (not that there are many) ignore the work of contemporary Japanese painters and sculptors, which is why there are some 1,500 émigré artists from Japan working in New York City today. Those who make a solid reputation on the American art scene, like the painter Shusaku Arakawa—a highly intellectual artist whose half-conceptual, half-painterly work is, as one American critic put it, "haggard with self-consciousness"—are much envied in Tokyo. But the most admired living artists are all Western, with Jasper Johns at the top, closely followed by Christo, whose island-fringing project in Miami's Biscayne Bay—as Japanese as a Monet, blooms of pink on the still water—caused great excitement on the other side of the Pacific. It is possible to find current work of real merit, like the exquisite objects of *washi* (handmade paper) with tones and twigs embedded in them, by the Kyoto artist Shoichi Ida. Yet the resignation with which artists accept their secondary role is almost as troubling as its opposite, the gross commercial ambitions of the American art world.

National museums are crippled by the bureaucratic conservatism of their staff when it comes to making decisions about any art since 1930. A man like Toshio Hara, 48, who runs a private museum in Tokyo with a steady policy of showing living Japanese artists in an intelligent and flexible context, is so exceptional as to be almost a cultural anomaly. And nobody gets tax deductions for giving art away. Consequently, the real museum action has moved to the corporate sphere, where overhead can be written off as promotional expenses. In America, corporations underwrite exhibitions. In Japan, they own museums.

The most ambitious and curatorially sustained exhibitions of Western modern art in Tokyo over the past few years have been presented, not by state or city or private galleries, but by a department store named Seibu in northwestern Tokyo, owned by Seiji Tsutsumi, 56. Tsutsumi's intention is "to ignore the limitations inherent in categories of genre from the art world" and "to continually create a place of expression." The Seibu museum and its offshoots in Nagano and Funabashi have mounted shows on subjects as diverse as Marcel Duchamp and Edvard Munch, Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Jasper Johns, Paul Klee and Egon Schiele. Today Seibu is the most influential source of direct contact with Western art in Japan, quite apart from the immense influence it has on popular attitudes toward design.

But the ruling arts are those that provide tangible social services and are grounded in consensus: namely, design and architecture. It was quite normal for a corporation like the Mitsubishi Bank, in commissioning its new Tokyo headquarters, to spend millions in "prestige" money for the building and the corporate design image without bothering to acquire a single noteworthy painting. The contrast with, say, Chase Manhattan or Philip Morris in New York could not be more marked.

It was Kenzo Tange, now 69, who broke the ice in the 1950s and became the first Japanese architect to win a wide institutional clientele by combining a Corbusian idiom with traditional Japanese quotations, done in reinforced concrete. Since then a generation of architects—some of them Tange's former students at Tokyo University—has proved less interested in formal revivalism than in a more conceptual relationship to their heritage. Outstanding among these (but still, one among several) is Arata Isozaki, 52, whose as yet unbuilt design for the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles may turn out to be the most remarkable building conceived by a Japanese architect in the West. Isozaki's relation to the Japanese past is defined by what he calls "basic continuities—ideas about the flow of space, intervals in space and time" rather than by the quotation of detail.

The prestige Isozaki and his colleagues have in Japan mirrors (and was certainly increased by) the rise of American architects such as Richard Meier and Michael Graves as stars. On the other hand, no American clothes designer has—or deserves—the kind of cultural importance in the U.S. that Issey Miyake, 45, has achieved in Japan. Miyake possesses a remarkable gift for condensing a long craft tradition relating to textiles, ceremony and theater into fresh but amenable images of the body, without the condescension and puppeteering that so often accompanies high fashion in the West.

The purity of a room with a view

Where real space is severely cramped, a people's dream life and fantasy space expand

A similar process goes on in the mass-media arts. Comic books, for instance, are not a peripheral affair in Japan as they are in America. Known as *manga*, they are a gigantic publishing industry and, sociologically, a fascinating one. Seventeen different comic magazines and 30 volumes of *manga* collections are issued monthly by Tokyo's main publisher, Kodansha. The comic book is as important a dream mechanism in Japan as rock music is in the West. The top artists, with, at the very top, Osamu Tezuka, known as *Manga No Kamisama* (God of *Manga*), are treated by their adoring public of all ages with an enthusiasm unknown to Stan Lee or Garry Trudeau; they are stars in the way that Mick Jagger or Norman Mailer are stars, and are credited with some of the properties of both.

Nowhere else in today's world, a visitor feels after the first anarchic impact of Tokyo has settled, is there a more intelligent consciousness of design than in Japan. It is not that the environment has been designed into a paradise; the surface chaos is too great for that, and the modern Japanese streetscape seems unspeakably chaotic because, in essence, the street is only the backside of internal space, a visual dump. The "good" building in Tokyo sticks out much more than its New York or Chicago counterpart, another reason for the premium now placed on prestige architecture and the building-as-logo. The point is, however, that Japanese designers at all levels, from architecture to illustration, have a ravenously vivacious quality to their dreaming. They are expert administrators of fantasy; and where real space is cramped, dream life and fantasy space expand. No wonder that it is they, not the painters, who are riding high.

—*By Robert Hughes*

The Just So of the Swerve and Line

Architecture and design combine traditional skill with inventive daring

Ancient simplicity and shoji screens are adapted by Japan's new architecture. Top: Tarawaya Inn, Kyoto. Below: hall in the guest house of the YKK corporation by Architect Fumihiko Maki

The Chinese invented paper lanterns. The Japanese redesigned them so that they could be folded flat to save space, and enable the candles inside to be lighted easily and safely. The pleats also add beauty.

This combination of cleverness, skill and *shibusa*, rather than originality, accounts for the excellence of Japanese design. Its continuity extends from the 17th century Katsura Imperial Villa, whose sparse, shoji-screened rooms influenced modern architecture, to the just completed Keio University library; from *tatami* mats to Sony's new Flamingo record players.

The art of making things compact is a matter of survival on an island where usable space is as precious as water in the desert. Skill accounts for much of Japan's commercial success. But *shibusa* (the adjective is *shibui*), an untranslatable part of the Japanese mystique, gives Japanese designers an edge over their U.S., Italian and Scandinavian colleagues. It means

Photographs for TIME by Ted Thai

Shinjuku section of Tokyo: coated with a gaudy layer of advertising

The modern Daikanyama Hillside Terrace housing development strives for harmony in Tokyo's visual cacophony

not just beauty, but the beauty of calm understatement: not just perfection, but perfection emphasized by some slight flaw. It means both flair and simplicity. Yasumo Kuroko, Sony's chief product designer, offers a definition: "It's the just so of the swerve of a pagoda or the sword of a samurai."

Much as *shibusa* informs the eye of the cutler or potter or flower arranger, it must have informed the eyes of the designers of the Flamingo. This record player plays the disc as it stands upright, and thus becomes a source not only of sound but also of sculptural beauty.

Not all Japan is *shibui*. The urge for vulgar kitsch and mawkish cutesiness seems just as strong on the Ginza as on Main Street. Japan's rapidly high-rising cityscape and industrializing landscape are a visual cacophony. Modern Japan is coated with a gaudy layer of advertising, turning nights into flaming neon.

The cacophony is exciting, but it

Much of Japan's rapidly high-rising cityscape has the same impressive banality as high-rising cityscapes everywhere

defies rational design. Frustrating land-use laws and real estate prices—as much as ten times as high as those in the U.S.—have defeated the planners. Even the houses along a street are not numbered in sequence, but follow the dictates of tradition.

For a brief moment in the 1960s, a group of architects inspired by Kenzo Tange and calling themselves Metabolists schemed to escape the mess with utopian megastructures built into the sky or the sea. Having come back to earth, ex-Metabolists Fumihiko Maki, 54, and Arata Isozaki, 52, Japan's leading architects today, now seek to harmonize and integrate new and old architecture. In spirit, the old and the new have never been far apart. "We never saw the conflict that still seems to bother people in the West," says Nobaki Furuya, an architecture student at Waseda University. "We never saw Le Corbusier or Mies van der Rohe as revolutionaries. For us, they always represented

Architect Maki's guest house for for eign trainees of the YKK zipper-manufacturing concern: at once strange and familiar

▲ Staircase, above, and dining room, right, show a restrained quest for beauty

Western thought and technology, which we imported, adopted and must now integrate with our own culture."

This reciprocal inspiration was replayed in the 1950s, when the Japanese resurrected their industry and invited such leading American industrial designers as Russel Wright and Jay Doblin to teach them modern design. Now Japanese architects and designers are returning the visit

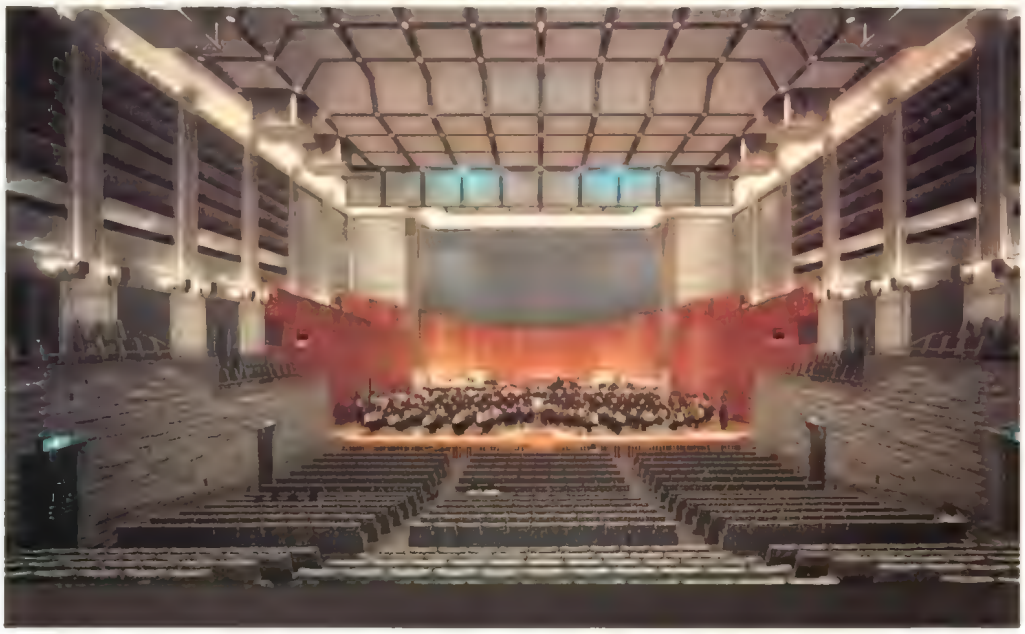
Nobuo Hozumi, who taught at Harvard and is now with Waseda's architecture department, said, "Technology may not be the triumph we thought it would be. More than ever, we need the warm touch of the human hand." Maki studied at the Cranbrook Academy of Art in Bloomfield Hills, Mich., as well as at Harvard, which he frequently visits. The interior of his new Keio University library has a richness of architectural effects — the views, the progression of spaces, the staircase, furniture that doubles as sculp-

The new Keio University library exemplifies richness of materials, attention to detail and craftsmanship

ture—that are more palatial than academic but echo traditional Japanese motives. The most unabashedly Japanese of Maki's designs to date, however, are in his 18-bedroom guesthouse for foreign trainees of the YKK zipper-manufacturing concern near Komatsu. Here, shoji, entrance hall, crossbeam and other elements of ancient Japanese architecture are reinterpreted in ways that are at once both strange and familiar.

In contrast to Maki's rational restraint, Isozaki's new civic center in Tsukuba, "science city," looks positively baroque in its exuberance. It consists of a 1,200-seat symphony hall, convention facilities and a 15-story hotel tower, circling a sunken court lined with shops. The rock garden and waterfall are stylized Japanese. The architecture is playful postmodern with the now standard affectations and allusions to Palladian renaissance. But Isozaki's stylishness is not random. Only a Japanese architect

Baroque and exuberant, the imposing civic center in Tsukuba "science city" by Arata Isozaki includes a hotel, right, and 1,200-seat concert hall, below

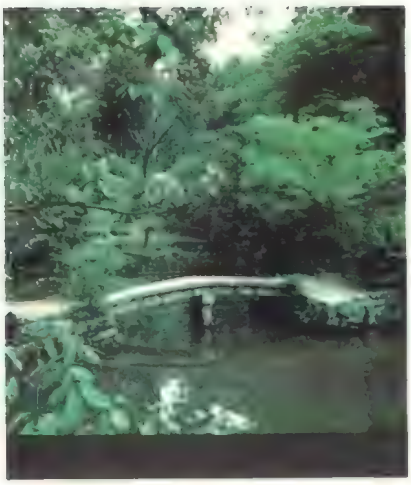


and his craftsmen could use materials as diverse as titanium-glazed tile, glass terrazzo, onyx, inlaid marble of different colors, and gold and silver doorknobs to create an effect of subtlety and restraint

"The craftsmen here enjoy the challenge of new technologies as much as their own crafts," explains Maki. "So do contractors, who are mostly graduates of architecture school. They'd rather lose money on a job than their reputation Lawsuits are unheard of."

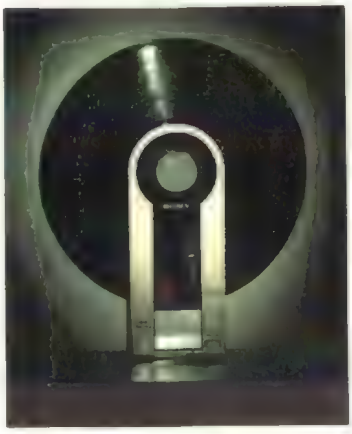
Architecture and design training is tough by American standards. "We have long ago abandoned Bauhaus theorizing," says Hozumi, "and replaced it with art exercises and hard drill. We have little time and much to learn. It takes humility, discipline and sweat."

This rigorous training in adaptation is now beginning to free their creativity. Michitaka Yoshioka, 59, who also studied at Cranbrook, teaches product design at Tsukuba University and lectures in India



Historic continuity: old stone bridge in Kyoto, above, and new stone bridge in Tsukuba, below

New design, ancient skills: cafeteria furniture, top, elm-wood furniture, middle



Sony's Flamingo record player, bottom left, is inspired by traditional workmanship; cutler, bottom right, sharpens new knife made by ancient, secret method

and China, says much the same about schoolwork. He also says: "Industrial design is no longer a matter of form giving, sketching pretty forms on paper. The definition of design incorporates thinking and inventing. We must, for instance, think about ways to recycle appliances. Consumers should be able to dismantle big things like refrigerators into small, disposable parts, rather than leave them in the alley."

"First the concept," says Kuroko, who heads the staff of 75 designers at Sony. "You must create in your mind before you create with a pencil. We pick young designers for their ideas and their ability to invent new products. When we think we have something worth developing, many different specialists work together to see if it is producible, marketable and beautiful. All three are equally important."

After a pause Kuroko adds, "But beauty is where we put our heart."

—By Wolf Von Eckardt

Closing the Gap with the West

Behind for years, Japan declares research a national priority

特別号 科学

Until Chemist Kenichi Fukui won a Nobel Prize in 1981 for his mathematical explanation of chemical reactions, he was more widely recognized abroad than at home. Indeed, when he first propounded his novel ideas 30 years ago, many of his Japanese colleagues scoffed. Foreign recognition changed their attitude, and Fukui, now 64, quickly became a national hero. Says he: "The Japanese are very conservative when it comes to new theory. But once you are appreciated in the U.S. or Europe, the appreciation spreads back to Japan."

For all its technological skills, Japanese science still suffers from a copycat syndrome. The Japanese often feel it is better to mimic or borrow than originate. Says Electrical Engineer Michiyuki Uenohara, director of Nippon Electric's research labs: "The label of imitator is valid—Japanese research is derivative."

But Japan is beginning to realize that it cannot rely forever on such Western inventions as transistors and microchips to fire its industries. Instead of concentrating almost exclusively on developing specific products and technologies (cars, cameras, electronics), the pragmatic Japanese are investing more money and talent in basic research: those inquiries into the fundamental puzzles of nature that usually offer no immediate payoff but can be important stimulants to future growth.

In the fiscal year ending March 1982, government and industry spent a total of $25 billion for research and development, or 2.4% of the gross national product, up four times from a decade earlier and a third of the current U.S. investment in R. and D. (The U.S. also allocates 2.4% of G.N.P. to R. and D., but much of the funding goes into military work.) In the coming years, Japan hopes to devote as much as 3% of its G.N.P. to R. and D., which would make it a world leader in this category. Japan has sharply stepped up technical training, producing 800 Ph.D. scientists and an astonishing 74,000 engineers a year, compared with 18,000 and 88,000 in the U.S.

Since World War II, the Japanese have won four Nobel Prizes in science and medicine, fewer than Britain (41), West Germany (14) or France (6), all countries with significantly smaller populations, and much fewer than the U.S. (109). But that is likely to change as Japan increases its government investment in science. It is already a world leader in such high-tech fields as microelectronics, robotics and communications. Less well known are Japanese strides in agriculture. One example: new hybrid varieties of rice that grow so fast they can produce two crops annually in colder climes.

Despite a national controversy about nuclear power, the Japanese are building a prototype breeder reactor and experimental fusion devices as large as any under construction in the U.S. Experiments are under way to tap the abundant geothermal energy of Japan's volcanoes. In seismology, the Japanese are aggressively looking for early warning signals in their tremulous terrain. Though initially dependent on help from NASA, Japan's space agency is now launching satellites with its own rockets, and will attempt to intercept Halley's comet when that celestial object races around the sun in 1986; similar U.S. plans have been dropped. Even in fields where they are clearly behind, such as genetic engineering and cell biology, important to their national goal of finding a cancer cure, the Japanese have organized an effort to catch up with the West.

The showcase of Japanese science is a sprawling 70,000-acre complex 37 miles northeast of Tokyo called Tsukuba Science City. Nestled amid pine groves and rice paddies in the shadow of 2,874-ft. Mount Tsukuba are 50 government and private research centers and an affiliated university. Founded in 1963 as part of a national "seeds for the future" effort in science and technology, Tsukuba Science City now has an annual government budget of $600 million and a staff of 7,000 scientists, engineers and technicians. Their investigations extend from high-energy physics (using a 12 billion electron volt accelerator) to searches for new lightweight, heat-resistant materials. In one cavernous seven-story building nicknamed the "rainmaker house," researchers are simulating weather in order to understand rain-induced mudslides, a recurring problem in Japan. Another laboratory contains a huge "shaking table" on which large model structures are tested for their ability to endure quakes.

Some Japanese scientists still feel, however, that there is too much rigidity in their research laboratories. Those familiar with the more informal American systems, where promising young investigators are often encouraged to go their individualistic ways, say that Japan's highly structured labs discourage initiative.

Nor are the Japanese completely abandoning their old copycat tactics. One noteworthy case occurred with fiber optics, a rapidly expanding field in which glass fibers are used to transmit information in the form of laser light pulses. The Japanese breakthroughs came only after Corning Glass, a leader in fiber optics, made the mistake of applying for a Japanese patent. Since the patent process is open to public inspection, Japanese firms studied the U.S. company's approach as well as the subsequent work of Bell Labs, and then made their own innovative improvements. Japanese fiber optics are today as good as any in the world.

In May the Diet voted to create 19 more research and industrial centers around the country. Construction of these "technopolises" could stretch into the 21st century. But by then, Japan may have closed much of the gap with the West in scientific creativity. —*By Frederic Golden. Reported by Thomas Levenson/Tokyo*

Simulating rainfall to study mudslides inside lab at Tsukuba Science City

An increasing awareness that it may be better to originate than mimic or borrow.

Finishing First with the Fifth

The race is on to build fast, "intelligent" machines

特別号 コンピューター

In a large, sunny room on the 21st floor of a Tokyo skyscraper, Electronics Engineer Kazuhiro Fuchi, 47, has assembled a group of three dozen computer scientists who spend each workday in 1983 thinking about 1993. Buttressed by a $450 million commitment from the Japanese government, Fuchi and his colleagues hunch over terminal screens and pore over mounds of studies for up to 16 hours each day. Their mission: to advance Japan one giant step in the world of computers, creating new ultrahigh-speed machines dedicated to that branch of computer science known as artificial intelligence (AI).

Advancing Japan one giant step: Kazuhiro Fuchi and colleagues in their Tokyo headquarters

Building machines that can dispense medical advice, prepare tax returns, repair equipment.

Until now, the pioneering work in computers was done almost exclusively by a select group of European and American scientists who shared a loosely defined mandate: to make dumb machines act as if they had human intelligence. Over the past 25 years, the AI laboratories of such institutions as M.I.T., Stanford, Carnegie-Mellon and Scotland's University of Edinburgh have introduced word processing, video games, time sharing, robot control and advanced missile-guidance systems. Lately, AI research has concentrated on building systems that can mimic the brainwork of skilled experts in such fields as oil exploration, battlefield command and computer design itself. Now Japan has made it a national goal to take its place within ten years among the world leaders in the emerging knowledge industry. "We no longer need chase the more developed countries," a consortium of Japanese computer manufacturers and scholars declared in 1981. "We can fulfill our duty as an economic power [by] investing in this leading field." At the heart of their effort are the machines known as fifth-generation computers.

Traditionally, the stages in computer development have been determined by advances in the technology of the inner components of the machines. The first generation relied on vacuum tubes, the second on transistors, the third on integrated circuits and the fourth, just emerging, relies on very-large-scale integrated circuits (VLSI), with chips so compact they must be designed by another computer. The fifth generation will arrange large numbers of VLSI chips in parallel, clearing the way for dramatic breakthroughs in speed and power. More important, these computers will use their new potency not only to process mathematical data, like most computers today, but also to perform human-like reasoning: finding patterns, making assumptions, drawing inferences, reaching conclusions. Using a language called PROLOG (programming in logic), the new machines will hold intricate catalogues of knowledge that will contain the rules of thumb and mental shortcuts humans use to solve knotty problems.

Fuchi, at the center of the Japanese effort, has long chafed under what he has perceived as a lack of first-rate computer research in his country. Twenty years ago, in a fit of pique at inflexible practices in Japan's Electrotechnical Laboratory, he walked off the job for two weeks. Such rash assertions of personality are rare in Japan, and Fuchi's individualism has captured the admiration of many of his peers. Stanford Computer Science Professor Edward Feigenbaum calls Fuchi "a type almost unheard of in the East, one of those who, by force of will, can make something happen out of nothing."

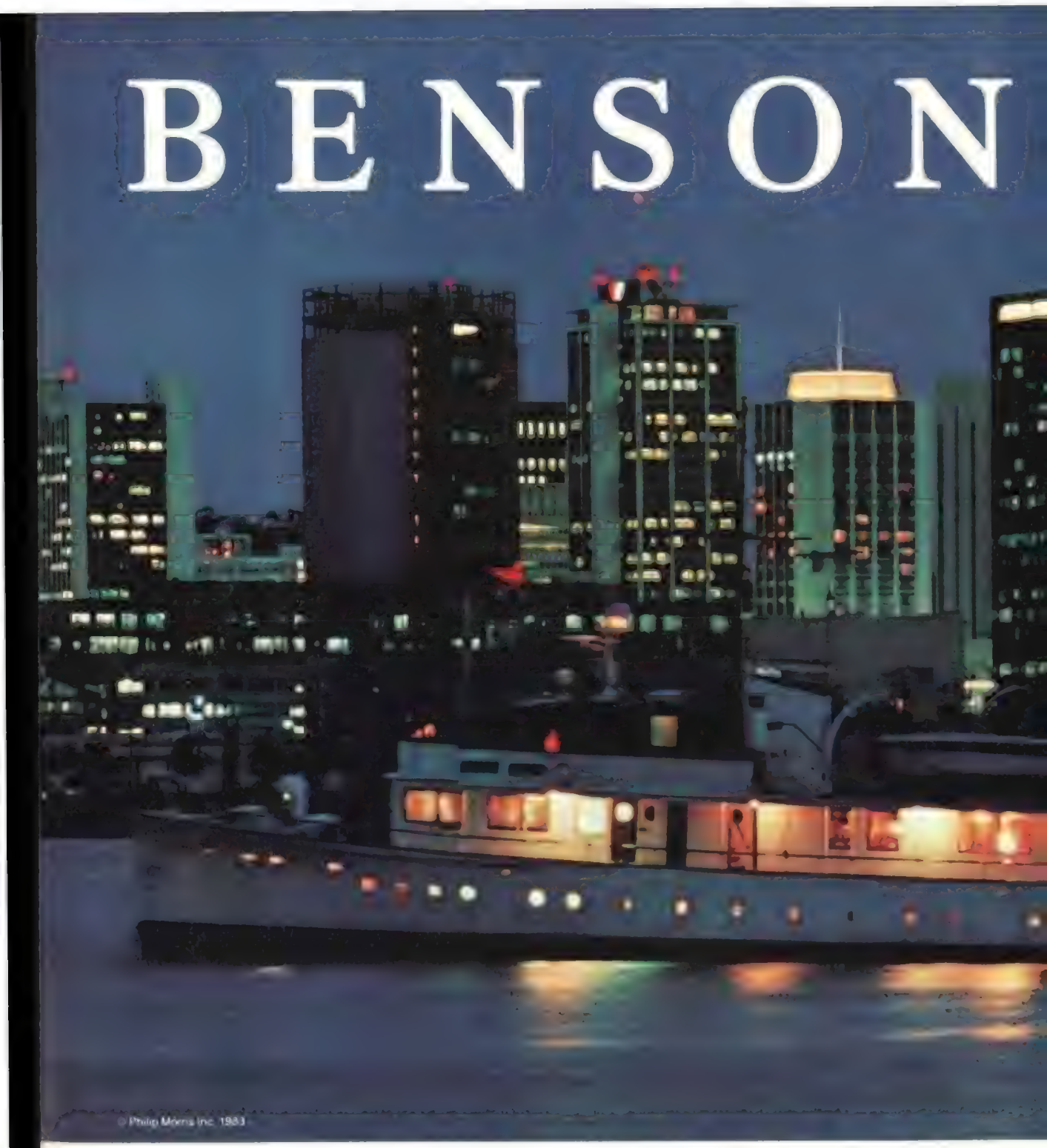
Among Fuchi's fifth-generation research targets for the 1990s:

- A speech-activated typewriter, with a vocabulary of 10,000 words and the capacity to handle the voice patterns of hundreds of human speakers.
- An optical scanner that can distinguish among 100,000 pictures, sufficient to read Japanese written characters.
- An automatic translating machine with a vocabulary of 100,000 words that can translate Japanese text into other major languages with 90% accuracy (the remaining 10% to be supplied by humans).

Even in the volatile computer business, this is a revolutionary program. A machine that could achieve any one of Fuchi's goals would achieve instant market success. A family of Japanese computers capable of all these tasks would threaten U.S. dominance in its most promising technology. Stanford's Feigenbaum observes, "The U.S. is squandering its lead at the rate of one day per day."

There are signs in the U.S. that the alarm has been heard. Since Japan launched its fifth-generation project two years ago, dozens of U.S. firms, from Westinghouse to Atari, have started AI departments. Early this year the Pentagon's Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency announced that it expected to spend up to $95 million a year on "new generation" computers for military applications. IBM, which has traditionally taken a hands-off attitude toward such "blue sky" efforts, is said to have committed a 25-man team to building a fifth-generation machine. Says Raj Reddy, director of Carnegie-Mellon's Robotics Institute: "The Japanese may have awakened a sleeping giant."

For Japan, there is more at stake than market shares of the next generation of computer hardware. Having already begun the transformation from an industrial economy to one based on gathering and disseminating information, the Japanese now hope to overcome age-old barriers of language and culture with intelligent machines: automatic translation devices coupled with systems that can dispense medical advice, prepare tax returns, design buildings, repair complex electronic equipment. In their vision of the future, fifth-generation computers will be delivery vehicles for the ultimate export products: the know-how and native intelligence of the Japanese people. —*By Philip Elmer-DeWitt. Reported by Thomas Levenson/Tokyo*



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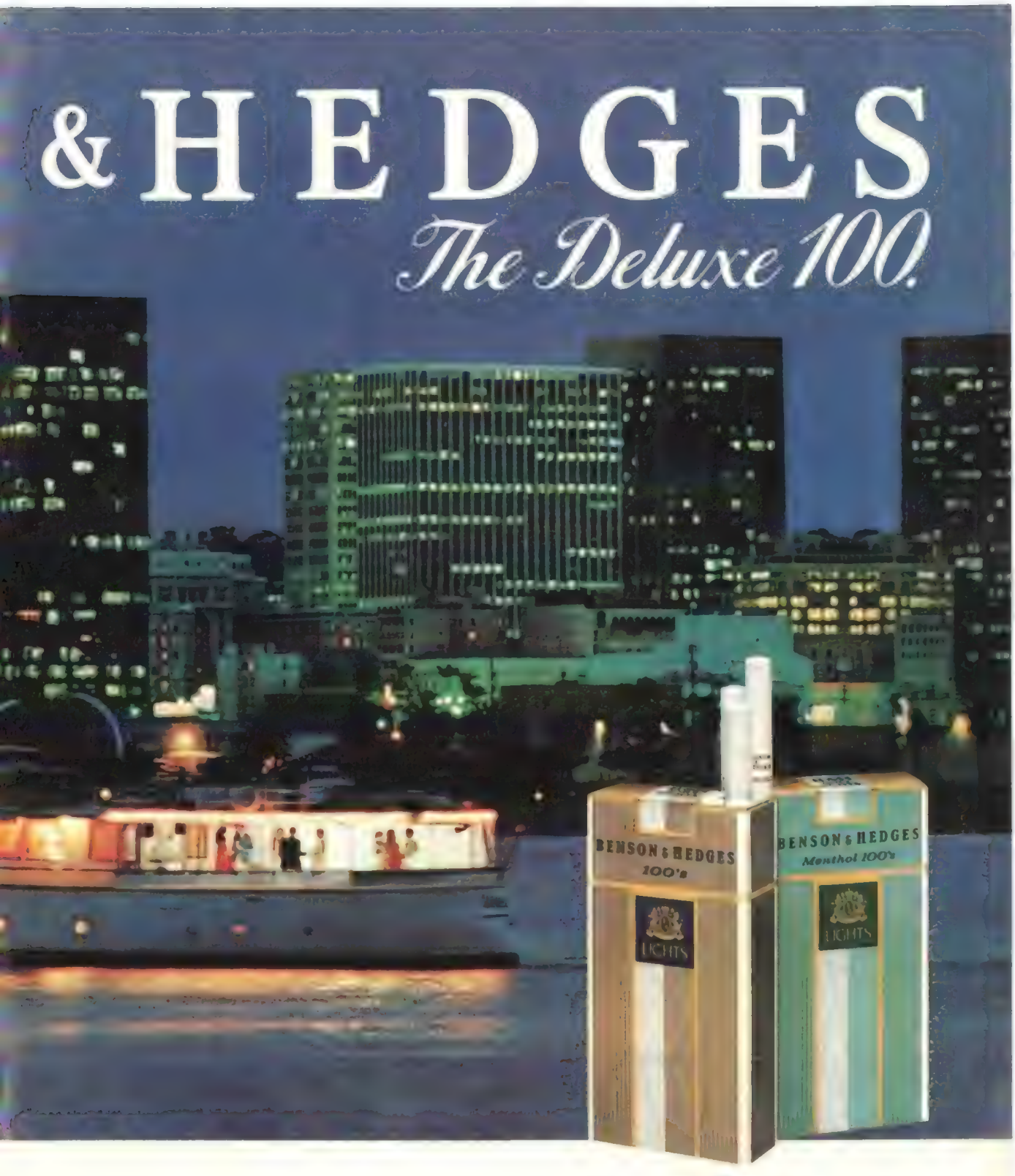

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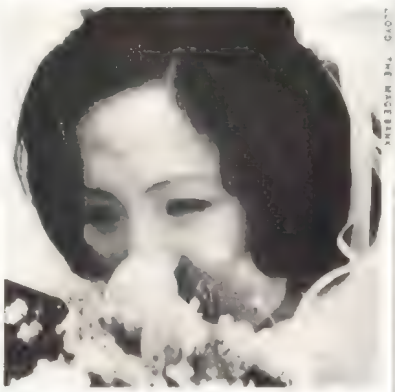
A Bit of This, a Bit of That

The Japanese sample many faiths, but few believe fervently in any

特別号 宗教

Bundled in colorful silks, the newborn Keiko Shirato was taken by her parents to a neighborhood Shinto shrine, where a white-gowned priest pronounced blessings for a long and healthy life. On three childhood birthdays she also visited Shinto shrines, clapping her hands and clanging bells to awaken the gods so she could pray to them. In 1980 Keiko used Buddhist omens to select a propitious wedding day. But she exchanged Christian vows with her fiancé in a small chapel at one of Tokyo's elegant hotels. Keiko, now 26



Bride in Western dress: "A contradiction"

and a mother, expects that some day her ashes will be interred in a Buddhist cemetery, where her descendants will annually return with a Buddhist priest to pray in her honor.

To Keiko, such religious eclecticism is perfectly natural. "I owe respect to my ancestors and show it through Buddhism," she explains. "I'm a Japanese, so I do all the little Shinto rituals. And I thought a Christian marriage would be real pretty. It's a contradiction, but so what?"

If many Japanese are searching for a deeper spiritual meaning to their lives, most are content with what they call *chuto-hanpa* (a bit of this, a bit of that) and scholars describe as *juso shinko* (multilayered faith). Blending aspects of different faiths has been the tradition in Japan since primeval Shinto, with its reverence for spirits in nature, began mingling with Buddhism and Confucianism. Both doctrines were imported from China via Korea 14 centuries ago.

Buddhist grave

Japan today claims a cumulative total of religious adherents well in excess of its actual population: 201 million, *vs.* 119 million. As in centuries past, the two dominant faiths are Shinto (98 million) and Buddhism (88 million).

Despite these impressive figures, government polls indicate that a scant 30% of the population today claim to have any real personal religious beliefs. Many scholars trace the reasons for this void to the social shocks of World War II, which left a widespread legacy of nihilism. As large numbers of people flowed from the countryside into urban centers during the 1950s, they were separated from ties with the religions in their home areas. Getting a good education and blazing a successful career became national preoccupations, supplanting traditional faiths.

Most Japanese still observe the venerable rituals; these ceremonies are part of the life of the nation. The symbols of religion are everywhere. Kyoto, the ancient capital, has more shrines and temples than cigarette shops. There are even Shinto altars in numerous offices of major cities. New skyscrapers are often decorated with red-and-white-striped sheets of Shinto cloth. Rural village homes, where traditional spirituality survives, typically have both a *kamidana* (Shinto altar) and a *butsudan* (Buddhist altar).

Formal religious observance in Japan revolves around the family's rites of passage (births, marriages, funerals and death anniversaries) and, for the community, a sequence of colorful, joyful festivals. So popular is *Hatsumode*, the New Year's visit to local sacred places, that specially installed traffic lights guide millions of worshipers along the gravel paths of the Meiji Shrine in Tokyo.

For many Japanese, however, pure ritual is not enough, nor is the attraction of the established religions. To fill this spiritual gap, the discontented have turned to so-called new religious movements, many of which were founded before World War II but grew spectacularly afterward. The groups, 170 or more claiming about 14 million adherents (about 12% of the population), all make use of traditional Japanese themes, although the rituals may vary. By concentrating on "essentially conservative values and ideals," says Ken Arai, a research associate at Tokyo University, these religions give many Japanese a "renewed feeling of self-confidence and even of relief" in the face of the vast changes that have reshaped the nation.

Claiming 16 million adherents, *Soka Gakkai* (Value Creation Society) is by far the most successful of the new religious movements. It has its roots in ancient Buddhism, and followers are included in the statistics for Buddhists, not in the "new religions." Unlike other new Japanese sects, *Soka Gakkai* is intolerant, going so far as to preach that "Shinto is a heretical religion that we must destroy." Contrary to Japanese custom, *Soka Gakkai* also asks its believers to proselytize, and has moved abroad: it claims 200,000 members in the U.S., mainly in California. *Soka Gakkai* teaches that continual repetition of the phrase *Namu Myoho Renge Kyo*, derived from the title of the *Lotus Sutra*, one of the Buddhist scriptures, is the key to success, happiness and the good life. The group has produced a political offshoot, *Komeito* (Clean Government Party), with the third largest number of members in Japan's legislature. The growth of the new religions has slackened since the late 1960s, apparently because of increased affluence and secularization.

Shinto bride: "All the little rituals"

Christianity now has relatively fewer adherents—some 950,000, split about evenly between Protestants and Roman Catholics—than it had in the decades after Francis Xavier, a 16th century Jesuit and the pioneer Christian missionary in Japan. Says the Rev. Timothy Pietsch, a Baptist missionary: "A Japanese Christian has to give his allegiance to a 'foreign' God and say that he's not first and foremost a Japanese—an impossible task."

The Christian concept of a universal God simply does not mesh with being Japanese. Indeed, many Japanese seem less interested in defining themselves as even Buddhist or Shintoist than in finding the "spirit" of being Japanese. "The real quest is to find the seed at the bottom of your heart and bring forth a beautiful flower," says Shigenori Kameoka, director of the Shinto Moral Training Society. "To be a good person, yes. But in order to be one, to be a good Japanese." —*By Richard N. Ostling. Reported by Alan Tansman/Tokyo*

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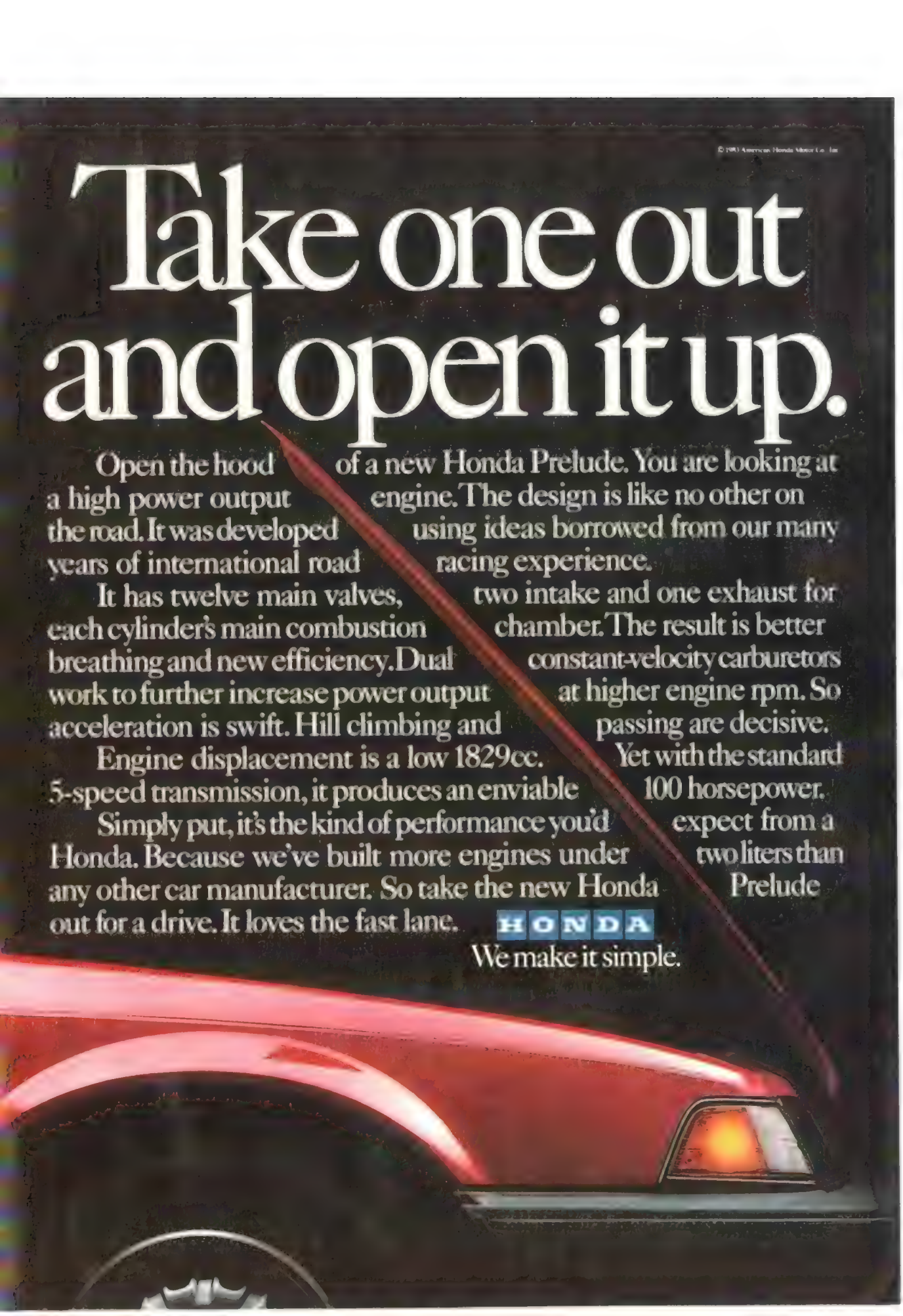

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Prognosis: Steady Improvement

But the nation's health-care system still lags behind the West's

特別号 医学

Japan began to modernize its medicine along Western lines more than a century ago. Despite intensive efforts and some impressive successes, the nation remains underdeveloped by Western standards: its system is loosely regulated and the quality of its care is uneven. "It's the wild, wild West of medicine," says Seth Goldsmith, professor of public health at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and author of a forthcoming book on Japanese hospitals.

Health care in Japan is founded on family doctors, generalists who make up about 40% of the nation's 163,000 physicians. They run small clinics, usually out of their homes, treating people for minor ailments. Swamped with work and barred from practicing in hospitals, which are controlled by specialists, many of these doctors are unable to keep up with advances in the field. Unlike the American Medical Association, the more casually organized Japan Medical Association makes little effort to oversee or upgrade the quality of health care.

Most family doctors double as pharmacists. That dual role was officially sanctioned more than 100 years ago, when druggists were scarce; it continues today even though Japan also has more than 120,000 pharmacists. One of the most severe criticisms of Japanese medicine made by Westerners is that family doctors overprescribe. An American scholar who recently consulted a Japanese doctor for a mildly sprained ankle came away with a muscle relaxant, an anti-inflammatory drug, a stomach powder to ease the side effects of the drugs, and a foot plaster. In the U.S., he probably would have been told to stay off the foot for a while and take a few aspirin.

Patients with serious symptoms are sent by the local doctor to see specialists in a hospital; they, too, are often not as rigorously trained and supervised as their American counterparts. "There is no licensing system or qualification test as a specialist," says Dr. Yasuyuki Hosoda, a leading heart surgeon who practices at Tokyo's Toranomon Hospital. Hosoda spent six years as a resident and researcher at the Cleveland Clinic and worked for ten years at the Borgess Medical Center in Kalamazoo, Mich.

Although Japanese hospitals are sometimes endowed with the latest high-tech equipment, they often lack the trained personnel to use it. Japan has 2,500 computerized axial tomography (CAT) scanners, sophisticated X-ray devices that reveal detailed cross-sectional views of the body. Yet there are only 1,500 radiologists in the country to handle the machines. By contrast, the U.S. has about 2,800 CAT scanners, but more than 12,000 specialists are qualified to use them.

Most Japanese hospitals, especially the private ones, amounting to 80% of the nation's 9,224, are old and inadequate. St. Luke's International Hospital in Tokyo is jammed daily by more than 1,500 outpatients, who crowd the hallways for hours. Three ophthalmologists work simultaneously in the one examining room, while waiting patients stand by and watch. There is a stock Japanese complaint about visiting a hospital: "A three-hour wait for a three-minute exam."

Outpatients in a Tokyo hospital waiting to see a doctor

"A three-hour wait for a three-minute exam."

The ill who are admitted to a hospital know enough to bring their own chopsticks, towels and soap and not to expect amenities. Example: a woman recently checked into a large, state-run hospital in Tokyo to have a thyroid tumor removed. She was able to get a semiprivate room. The sheets were changed only once a week and the bath and toilet were down the hall. Her sharpest recollection: "I hated to go to the bathroom. Scores of cockroaches were clustered there at night." Still, she said, "the care was excellent."

The Japanese accept crowded hospitals in part because the system has improved during the past few decades. Before World War II, the family doctor would even keep a patient in a makeshift ward that was part of his house or clinic. Indeed, the Japanese do not complain a great deal about medical care in general. They rarely challenge the authority of their physicians by asking for a second opinion or questioning a diagnosis. Says Louise Shimizu, an American who teaches childbirth preparation classes in Tokyo: "It is always a struggle to get information. You cannot build up good relations with doctors."

The Japanese put up with such high-handed treatment largely because of the revered place that a white-coated doctor, a figure of authority, has long held in the culture. The physicians' incomes reflect their prestige. The typical family doctor working in his small, poorly equipped clinic makes about $67,000 a year, while a lawyer earns $31,000 and a university professor $29,000. In addition, although their income is taxed, doctors make thousands more on the side from tips that are discreetly passed on by patients. After her operation, the thyroid patient delivered a box of candy with five 10,000 yen bills ($215) hidden at the bottom. Says she: "I was told that's what everyone does."

But if the doctors are doing well, the rest of the country's medical system has serious financial problems. Hospitals are in particular trouble. Because the government strictly limits how much they may charge (the minimum price per day is $36, *vs.* $99 in the U.S.), hospital administrators face a catch-22 situation. To meet their expenses, they are forced to take in more and more patients, which only increases expensive and lamentable overcrowding. Institutions that buy costly equipment often find it impossible to balance their books. Forty-three hospitals went bankrupt in 1982, double the number two years before. Says Dr. Kinori Kosaka, director of Toranomon Hospital: "Better medical treatment requires updated medical facilities, excellent doctors, nurses and technicians. But we can't charge extra. That is why it is so difficult to run a good hospital today."

The country's network of company- and state-backed insurance programs assures treatment to virtually everyone; wage earners contribute as little as $5.20 a month to plans that provide lavish benefits. Critics complain that patients overuse the system for such woes as hangovers and general fatigue. Another factor that runs up the costs to the state is the high salaries of doctors, supplemented by their income from filling out prescriptions.

Still, Japan spends only 5.07% of its gross national product, or $53.6 billion, on health care, in contrast with 10.5% in the U.S. The main difference: the more sophisticated treatment offered in

America. In the future, the Japanese figure is expected to rise because of the improving longevity statistics. In the past 25 years, the life expectancy of Japanese women has been raised from 68 to 80 years, and of men from 64 to 74. At the same time, infant mortality has dropped. Only seven of every 1,000 babies die before age one, compared with 77 a quarter-century ago.* The statistics reflect improvements in care and the socialized program that offers treatment to all. As a result, Japan's medical system must begin to cope with illnesses that occur more frequently in an aging population and that are very costly to treat.

Twenty-five years ago, the nation's top killer was stroke. Today stroke is second to cancer, which causes one out of every five deaths, the same rate as in the U.S. Only a few hospitals offer the full array of radiation, surgery and drug treatments for cancer that is available in America, but these institutions are comparable to the best in the U.S. Says Dr. Keiichi Suemasu of Japan's National Cancer Center Hospital in Tokyo: "We are very competitive when it comes to cancer treatment of any organ. As for stomach and lung cancer, we feel we are a step ahead of America." Japan also recently launched a ten-year anticancer research effort.

Largely because a more westernized diet has replaced traditional meals of rice and fish with foods heavy in animal protein and fats, heart disease has become the nation's third leading cause of death. However, the Japanese lag behind the U.S. in treating heart ailments because surgeons still lack experience. Only 1,200 coronary bypass operations were performed in Japan last year, compared with 160,000 in the U.S.

Japan also trails the U.S. in preventive medicine. There are no public health-education campaigns aimed at lowering such heart disease risk factors as cholesterol, smoking and high blood pressure. But magazines and newspapers are beginning to discuss such matters, and Japanese men and women, young and old, have become increasingly health-conscious. Many exercise regularly. Others are modifying their eating habits in fashions all too familiar to Westerners, drinking diet soda and low-calorie beer and using low-salt sauces on their food.

In addition to coping with an aging population, Japan faces another challenge. Says Surgeon Hosoda: "The real problem now is what kind of medical care you can get when you are still in your 40s and 50s and one day are struck by a heart attack or any other killer disease. We need a lot of work on quality medicine." In this phase of health care, foreign experts like Massachusetts' Goldsmith believe that the Japanese are far behind the West. Still, few doubt that they will eventually catch up. ***—By Anastasia Toufexis. Reported by Yuki Ishikawa/Tokyo***

*In the U.S., life expectancy is 78 years for women and 70 years for men. Eleven of every 1,000 American babies die in their first year.

LAW

Land Without Lawyers

A reluctance by all parties to use the ceremonial sword

American parents are fond of telling their college-bound children, "We'll always need lawyers." Partly as a result, there are 600,000 practicing attorneys in the U.S., or one for every 400 Americans. Most Japanese parents, by contrast, are barely aware of the profession. Amazingly, in this highly competitive and complex island society, there are a mere 12,500 attorneys in private practice, roughly one for every 10,000 citizens. Most Japanese live—and die—without ever having seen a lawyer. Humorist Russell Baker recently suggested curing the imbalance by "exporting one lawyer to Japan for every car Japan exports to the United States."

The lawyers traded overseas, however, would find their occupation severely limited. Americans operate on the principle that the rights of individuals, and the wrongs done to them, are morally compelling claims worthy of full-dress legal battle. Although the Japanese have a highly developed sense of individual rights, social harmony, not personal justice, is the basis of their law. Litigation, never common, has actually decreased during the past 15 years. As the distinguished jurist Takenori Kawashima wrote in 1967, "We think of the law as a hereditary family sword . . . an ornament rather than a means for enforcing the power of the government to control the daily life of our society."

Since the 19th century, the venerated ideals of consultation and agreement in Japan have helped to keep the sword sheathed. The 1942 Conciliation of Personal Affairs Act, for instance, outlines the philosophy in language that would irritate most American jurists. The main object, it states, lies in reaching a solution "based upon sound morals and with a warm heart." Such beliefs have been combined with borrowings from both the German and French legal systems. Like the European models, Japan's civil law puts less stress on judicial precedent than there is in the U.S., and it is used less frequently to resolve disputes and create rules of conduct.

Court trials, for example, still upset the Japanese sense of privacy and are considered public embarrassments. They also aggravate a deeply ingrained reluctance to assess good and evil in others. Kawashima notes that unlike most Westerners, the Japanese find that "there is no tension posed between what ought to be . . . morality, on one hand, and the realities of the human spirit and human society as it exists." One practice that caters to such beliefs: proceedings in some civil cases are extensively thrashed out in chambers to avoid surprises, making court appearances anticlimactic. Says an American attorney working in Japan: "They won't tolerate Perry Mason–type behavior."

In criminal cases, Japan's courts tend to be staunchly severe on rape, gun control and narcotics violations. But the nation's 99% conviction rate in cases brought to trial is not solely due to tough application of the codes. Prosecutors rarely go before the bench unless their case is a strong one. Moreover, the confession rate is very high. Japan's 2,774 judges are often moved to impose lighter sentences

Three judges with court officers, front, on the bench in Osaka

The judiciary tries for a solution "based upon sound morals and with a warm heart."

by pleas of remorse. Writer Frank Gibney, an expert on Japan, observes, "Be it only a traffic accident, if a person has caused injury to another, he is well advised to rush to the hospital with flowers and gifts for the victim."

Bringing a civil damage suit requires more than presents. There are high, nonrefundable filing fees, payable in advance and based on a percentage; to sue for a million dollars, for instance, costs $5,032 in Japan. On top of that is the lawyer's fee, which must be paid no matter what the outcome. U.S.-style contingency agreements, under which losers pay no fee, are ethically prohibited in Japan. Finally, despite the relatively low amount of litigation, courts are often backlogged for years because trials move at a snail's pace.

Japan's lawyers are rigorously selected and intentionally limited. Last year more than 26,000 university graduates took a prohibitively difficult test for entrance into the two-year course at the Judicial Research and Training Institute, Japan's only professional school for lawyers, judges and prosecutors. A mere 457 passed. Graduates find the law no stepping stone to prominence. None of Japan's 16 postwar Prime Ministers, for instance, has been a lawyer. Only 51 of the 763 Diet members are attorneys. Nor does the position confer wealth. Only 20% make more than $43,000 annually.

The legal system is not burdened with many large and small matters for which U.S. courtrooms are so often the first resort. "Their courts are not the place where one manipulates the system," says Columbia Law Professor Michael Young, an expert on the Japanese legal system. "They do not decide on social change." As for less weighty conflicts, family elders often still handle matters like inheritance. Local police stations actively work to resolve neighborhood and domestic disputes *(see box)*. The system of *chotei* (mediation) handles serious confrontations like divorce by having litigants and their lawyers meet with court-appointed masters who hear both sides and recommend a settlement.

Much of the work done in the U.S. by attorneys is processed in Japan by nearly 90,000 scriveners and other workers, many of whom have undergraduate law degrees. They make up an extensive, inexpensive and nearly invisible legal-services network, dealing with ordinary tax, patent, administrative and real estate transactions. Nor do lawyers handle fender-bending auto accidents. Japanese insurance companies normally dispose of claims without resorting to the almost *pro forma* suits that many U.S. underwriters seem to demand before a settlement is made. A judge's ruling is sought only in extreme conditions if negotiation fails.

Although they hire foreign attorneys for overseas operations and have legal departments to review their paperwork, at home Japanese companies still frown on the American practice of using attorneys to write contracts. Says Diet Member Taro Aso, for 13 years an executive at Aso, Japan's largest cement company: "We never had a formal, written contract with any supplier or customer. There was no need." The details of deals are nonetheless carefully negotiated, sometimes with maddening thoroughness, and notes on the agreement are kept by both sides. Any subsequent disputes are settled by negotiation, in part because courts tend to make small awards; litigation is not cost efficient.

Will modern necessity be the mother of new interventions? Some in Japan see signs that change is coming. While only 200 or so Japanese lawyers now prepare international contracts on a full-time basis, more are moving into the growing area. Group lawsuits, unheard of two decades ago, have resulted in commendable antipollution laws. And ordinary citizens are beginning to be a little more litigious. Says Tokyo Attorney Shin Asahina: "In the past we hesitated even to use the word *kenri* (rights) with laymen because it was too strong. Now ordinary people use words like litigation and enforcement of rights, even if their fundamental feelings about them haven't changed."

Those fundamental feelings can still be powerful inhibitors. When three-year-old Yasuyuki Yamanaka drowned in a reservoir near the town of Nagoya, his parents sued their neighbors, who had been baby-sitting. The court recently awarded the parents $24,000 in damages. But the Yamanakas became public pariahs. They received hundreds of calls a day shaming them not only for taking money from neighbors but even for bringing suit against them. TV crews camped on their doorstep, and poison-pen letters flooded their mailbox. Less than a month later, the Yamanakas went back to court, returned the money and dropped the case. ***—By J.D. Reed. Reported by S. Chang/Tokyo***

Crimes, Safety and the Police Box

"Where's my pet monkey Mimi?" squeaked an elderly woman wrapped in a bright pink kimono. "Someone's stolen my wallet, and I can't buy myself a train ticket home," moaned a lanky teen-ager. "My man's drunk again and beating me!" screamed a woman over the telephone. "*Tasukete!* [Help!] *Hayaku!* [Make it quick!]"

For the two officers stationed at the Ochanomizu police box in the heart of Tokyo, the complaints were typical. Within 15 minutes they had soothed the bereft woman with a promise to be on the lookout for her pet (it was found), lent the penniless youth 560 yen ($2.33) from a special emergency fund in exchange for a signed IOU (four out of five such loans are repaid) and radioed for a patrol car to break up the marital battle. Said Sergeant Shigeo Takahashi, grinning with satisfaction: "You stand here for a quarter of an hour, and you can do as deep a study of life as is possible."

T. TABUSHA

***Koban* officer giving directions**

Indeed, the police box, or *koban*, is an integral feature of Japanese existence. It traces its origin to the network of *bansho* (checkpoints) set up by samurai who protected the populace in feudal times. Today, throughout Japan, there are 15,600 boxes (actually tiny one-room offices set up on street corners), each serving about 10,000 residents. Tokyo alone has 1,244 and considers them so crucial to the public welfare that they are staffed by 15,000 officers, one-third of the city's police force. In addition to their traditional duties of patrolling neighborhoods and apprehending criminals, officers give out directions, process lost-and-found articles, control traffic, summon aid for drunks, settle domestic disputes and regularly drop in on senior citizens living alone. Says Teiji Soeno, an administrator of the system in Tokyo: "The police have to be part of the community, or it would be impossible to make it a safe city."

The success of the police-box system is reflected in Japan's startlingly low crime statistics. In 1980 there were 1.4 murders per 100,000 people, against 10.2 per 100,000 in the U.S. The incidence of robbery was 1.9, compared with 234.5 in the U.S. Violent crimes of any kind are rare, in fact. Another reason: strict gun-control laws, which allow no civilian to own a gun except for hunting. Impressed with the Japanese success, Singapore has installed police boxes, and San Francisco is studying the feasibility of adopting the system. Tokyo's Soeno thinks this is a Japanese development the U.S. would do well to copy. His view: "If ours is among the safest countries in the world, the police box is one of the fundamental reasons."

Schooling for the Common Good

Shushin, *spirit and internationally envied success*

特別号 教育

Americans, impressed first by the quality of Japanese cameras, then TV sets, then cars and stereo equipment, are now beginning to hear about another top-quality product: the education system that has produced so much success. Amidst cries in the U.S. of "back to basics" and "on to excellence," the rigorous pace and pressure of Japan's schools, the required curriculum and the unquestioned authority of teacher over pupil all possess an appeal for Americans who have heard something of how Japanese education works and who remember something of how U.S. education used to. But the patterns and goals of an educational system do not transfer as easily as a Walkman. U.S. educators can study Japan profitably, but not if the intent is merely to replicate.

Japan learned that lesson, in reverse, not once but twice. After the Meiji Restoration, the new imperial government sent study missions to the U.S., France and Prussia, then tried to set up a national education system based on Western liberal utilitarian thought. The experiment was short-lived. Much the same thing happened after the U.S. occupation. The American-imposed structure of grade school, junior high and high school was retained, along with coeducation and compulsory attendance until age 15. But many of the other U.S. reforms were soon discarded

One telling point of conflict in the postwar years was the notion of *shushin* (moral education), which was at the center of the traditional curriculum and taught the value of filial piety, loyalty, nationalism and, above all, fealty to the Emperor. The American overseers saw *shushin* as part of the country's problem and banned it. In 1957, five years after the occupation ended, *shushin* was restored, minus its ultranationalist trappings and with the new name of *dotoku*. Again the aim was to instruct youngsters in the importance of respect for the common good. In a sense, it is what makes Japan's education system truly Japanese.

The cornerstone of the system, though, is the influence of Confucius, the 6th century B.C. Chinese philosopher, who taught that success in academic life is the measure of an individual and reflects the honoring of mutual moral obligations. Exalting the role of the teacher, he believed that learning should be unceasing and tested with frequent examinations. Japan today lives up to that academic ideal.

From kindergarten onward, students are off on a marathon of constant learning that takes them over a series of examination hurdles, the last of which determines admission to college and in effect a career Individuals are driven, but academic achievement is a group endeavor. Everyone is expected to learn, and everybody does. "The teacher works to elevate the level of achievement of the class as a whole," explains Rutgers Education Professor Nobuo Shimahara. The Japanese make no effort to single out slow or gifted pupils for special classes. Nor are inadequate students held back; the shame is thought to be too great. But comprehensive exams given at the sixth, ninth and twelfth grades track the best scorers to the best schools.

To give their sons and daughters every chance, "education mamas" will even sit in on classes to take notes when their children are sick. Parents' meetings are heavily attended. Teachers are greatly respected, and although their average salary is only $18,200, the job is much sought after by top college graduates. Japan spends roughly 10% of its $1.1 trillion gross national product on education (*vs.* 6.8% in the U.S.). Says Education Professor James Shields of the City University of New York: "The whole culture is pervaded by the ethic that with true effort you can succeed; that if you're not achieving, you haven't tried hard enough."

The Japanese not only try harder, they try longer. Children attend school 240 days a year, including half-days Saturday, compared with 180 in U.S. public schools. The extra time and effort soon show. Japanese children begin writing paragraphs in the first grade, while most Americans start in the second. Americans normally learn to calculate percentages in sixth or seventh grade, the Japanese by fifth. Japanese begin instruction in the English language in the seventh grade, while most Americans graduate from high school without a year of any foreign language. Although a Japanese high school student may have five hours of homework a night, worried parents often send their children to afternoon *juku*, or cram schools. Even preschoolers may attend. "Sleep four hours, pass," goes a plaintive Japanese saying. "Sleep five hours, fail."

MASACHIKA SUHARA

***Juku* student with headband proclaiming "Sure victory in exam"**

After the effort, most college students take a four-year vacation

Students in elementary school must learn to read music and play a simple instrument like the recorder. Extracurricular activities include drama clubs, cooking clubs and sports. But for the 95% who go on to high school, such lighter fare is usually snuffed out In those final three years, all students study Japanese and Chinese classics, as well as linear algebra, inorganic chemistry, mechanical physics, electronic physics, statistics and calculus—subjects normally taught at the college level in the U.S. Interestingly, most students are not taught to use computers, largely because the all-important college entrance exams do not ask about computers

Everything in Japanese secondary education—everything—is focused on these exams, given in February of the students' senior year. To win one of the 3,000 places at the most prestigious school, the University of Tokyo, a student must have one of the 3,000 top scores on its entrance exam. Other signs of intellectual excellence, and well-connected relatives, do not count. Only about 38% of those taking the exams get into a college on their first try; most of the rest make it after a year or even two of heavy additional *juku* sessions.

The irony is that after all the stress and cramming, college, especially for the non-science major, can be a four-year vacation. Even administrators seem to agree with a recent graduate of Waseda University, who explains, "Since we broke our backs for all those years, we deserve four

years of fun." (There are some hard-working exceptions, notably students who want to go to graduate school in law, medicine and technology.) Employers hire by looking at the university a student attended and pay little attention to grades. After college, the Japanese take up serious studying again when they start to work. Says Junchi Noguchi, head of the Japan Union of Scientists and Engineers: "The real training for an engineer in Japan comes after he enters the company."

The system is not intended to create a brilliant elite. Stanford Researcher Thomas P. Rohlen, who has written a forthcoming book on the subject, says that the marvel of Japanese education lies in "shaping a whole population to a standard inconceivable in the U.S." Also inconceivable in the U.S., however, is the degree of centralization. All standards and textbook approvals, as well as major funding, come from the national government. "Japan is interested in forming a national culture," says Columbia Comparative Education Professor Harold Noah. This is not solely the result of Japan's homogeneity and island isolation. Britain, for example, did not pursue a single national vision. Instead it sought to develop individual liberty and built a decentralized education system to foster that value. So did the U.S., on a larger scale. Japan's pursuit of a common national goal is also possible on a large scale. Professor Noah compares education in Japan and the U.S.S.R., which also "is interested in forming a national character," albeit a far more politically ideological one.

The rote work and rigidity in Japanese schools, says Dr. Takemitsu Hemmi, a Tokyo University professor of mental health, "produces a system in which students don't have to be able to discuss. They just say, 'Yes, I understand.' The system does not encourage great creativity or individuality." Admits former Education Minister Michio Nagai: "It is not an exaggeration to say that education designed to develop men who love learning and think for themselves has already been abandoned." Worried by a rise in youth crime and an increase in assaults on teachers (though the totals are still low by U.S. standards), the national teachers' union argues that students cannot develop their personalities fully in such a tightly controlled environment.

Although Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone set up an advisory panel last May to look into the possibility of reforms, the Ministry of Education strongly believes in maintaining present standards. And most Japanese are seemingly well satisfied with the system more or less as it is. As for those envious Americans, there may be particular Japanese techniques worth duplicating. But the biggest difference between the two systems is what Stanford's Rohlen calls "the spirit that breathes life into the education system." That spirit glows in Japan and has weakened in the U.S. But, says Rohlen, "we have to find that spirit again in ourselves." —*By Ellie McGrath. Reported by Jeanne-Marie North/New York and Alan Tansman/Tokyo*

Increasing Signs of Stress

Dependence on the corporation often begins at home

In Japan, where Freud is of small importance and his Oedipus complex makes little sense, a Tokyo therapist once proposed a more applicable myth for his nation. Called the Ajase complex by the late psychoanalyst Heisaku Kosawa, it comes much closer to the heart of the child-mother relationship in Japan.

In ancient times, the myth goes, the young prince Ajase, feeling betrayed by his mother because of her sexual feelings toward his father, killed the older man. Ajase had planned to murder his mother as well but could not bring himself to do it. Ajase then broke out in suppurating sores so offensive that no one would help him. But his mother, despite her horror at her son's deed, cared for him, and he was so moved that they reconciled.

A similar cycle of love, hate and forgiveness arises from the extraordinary child-rearing practices of Japan: a deep and sustained dependence on Mother that paves the way for the adult's dependence on the familial group and the corporation that engulfs and sustains him. A Japanese child is pampered, brought up permissively and then tossed into a rigid and highly competitive school system. This sets off a yearning for the old dependency on Mother and a search for unity with others that Psychiatrist Takeo Doi of Tokyo considers a critical factor in the formation of Japanese adult character.

One early sign of this stress is school phobia, a major crisis involving fever, depression, even autism and suicide. It accounts for almost half of the mental illness among Japanese youngsters under 18 and takes an average of two years of drug therapy and counseling to cure.

Among adults, stress seems to be rising to Western levels. According to the government, one of every 25 wage earners is treated annually at a mental hospital or clinic for a tension-related malady, a rise of 70% in 25 years. The feeling among some Japanese health professionals is that the system does not allow people many ways to release their anger. Men are allowed a few surly comments under the cover of drunkenness, and women sometimes take to their beds to show displeasure, but most of the time people just swallow their rage.

The major emotional distress disorders in Japan are familiar enough: schizophrenia, depression, alcoholism. But the neuroses are often culture-bound, centered on the overwhelming sense of obligation and dependence. *Shinkeishitsu* (nervous temperament), for example, involves hypersensitivity, perfectionism, social withdrawal or total discomfort in unfamiliar surroundings.

To Americans, some of the treatments for these maladies may seem like anti-therapies or even brainwashing. *Naikan* (introspection) is a one-week program of directed meditation. It is a 30-year-old folk treatment invented by Ishin Yoshimoto, a layman with a background in Buddhism. A "guide" first discusses the devotion of the patient's mother. Then the process is repeated with the other important contributors to his life. The guide steers the patient away from abstract comments and complaints and focuses on his ingratitude toward the sacrifices of other persons. Many patients break down crying, and some want to commit suicide out of guilt and regret. The final message from the therapist is that the only escape from mental anguish is to plunge into acts of service. The *naikan* program is used in prisons, schools and offices. Some companies require everyone from the president to the newest hireling to go through it.

Another therapy called *Morita* also aims at erasing introspection and getting patients back to work. For a week patients are confined to bed, with no visitors, no TV and no reading matter. Forced to wallow in their own thoughts, they come to see that action is better than endless self-obsession. Patients then work outdoors for two weeks, going from light to heavy labor. They also attend indoctrination lectures. No talk about the self is allowed. The whole program is tinged with a sense of resignation: things are the way they are, and all we can do is get on with life and do the best we can. *Morita* practitioners claim a cure rate of 90%.

A therapist in Japan is a shepherd, prodding straying lambs back toward the flock. Mental health means to live with and for others. To some American observers, it may seem that methods of both child rearing and therapy push people in Japan toward a pathologically dependent role. But, of course, the freewheeling, individualistic American, with a disposable mate and two parents stashed away in Florida, may look a bit odd to the Japanese. ■

Women: A Separate Sphere

Deference to tradition, dreams of the future

特別号 性

It is hard to avoid mentioning Madame Butterfly. Rustling compliantly in her kimono chrysalis, she forever set the Western image of the Japanese woman. Poor Butterfly first appeared on the stage of Milan's La Scala in 1904, decades after Western ideas about women's rights had reached Japan. In 1947 the American-dictated revision of the Japanese constitution and legal codes gave women the right to vote and explicitly forbade sex discrimination. But the idea of equality is a long time being assimilated into practice.

Today's Japanese women—urbanized, educated, middle class and seeking to reconcile traditional identities with present realities—sound like American women of ten years ago. The echoes from across the Pacific are recognizable, considering that until the 1860s Japan was a feudal patriarchy in which the harshness of women's inferior status was unrelieved by such Western niceties as the chivalric code. Until World War II women bowed to the authority of father, husband and son. Today, they bow for the same reasons that they take weekly lessons in wearing kimonos: out of attachment to cultural graces

What defines a Japanese woman? It is not the kimono. She is more likely to wear Calvin Klein than a kimono, or even the modern Japanese designs currently fascinating New York. It is not her aspirations, which are no different from women's all over the world. She wants a husband and children, education and fair pay, a role in the larger society guaranteed by legal equality, and the right to control her childbearing

Author Yomiko Yansson

Perhaps the one trait that makes both men and women distinctively Japanese is their extreme deference to the harmony of the group. Says Author and Feminist Yumiko Yansson, explaining why Japanese women remain mostly *kakure feministo* (closet feminists), despite their increasing discontent: " 'Resignation is the first lesson of life,' the saying goes. In Japan, rebellion means being an outsider."

If Japan's social "groupism" inhibits fire-in-the-belly feminism, Japanese women nonetheless recognize and resent their disadvantages. Says Student Ritsuko Yamariyo: "Of course, there's a mountain of discrimination in society, but women are incredibly strong because of it." A government White Paper last year reported that although most women are still content with their responsibilities as keepers of the home, only 13% feel they are given equal status at work, and only 10% believe they are treated equally in terms of social perceptions and customs Shigeo Saito, author of a national sex survey, found that "Japanese housewives are frustrated in many ways. Women at the moment are giving signs of warning, and the men aren't really paying attention to them."

Marriage, preferably by the age of 24, remains a woman's primary goal; the event is so significant that the average cost of a wedding is $23,000. The ideal husband is a *sarariman* (salary man), who is slightly older and slightly higher in status and who understands the new notions about companionship and a mate chosen for love. Nearly 60% of marriages are still *omiai*, arrangements made mostly through family and friends but also through counseling and computer centers, and company introduction services. A bride no longer enters her husband's household as a kind of servant to her mother-in-law, nor will she shuffle respectfully three steps behind her husband. She will see very little of her husband, and unless she has a job she will see almost no one else except her children. The tradition of separate social spheres for men and women means that many of today's housewives, living in minuscule but easily maintained apartments, have hours of free time to fill with lessons and P.T.A. meetings.

A man's job, and his relaxation, involves long evenings of drinking with other men, and he is far more likely to share his conversation with bar hostesses than with his own wife. Yumiko Kitazawa, a teacher in her early 60s, is perfectly content: "I wouldn't want my husband around all the time. I wouldn't want to be *beta-beta* [stickily clinging all over each other]." But the younger Japanese who have had the great adventure of getting to know each other in school, want to be able to share their ideal heaven, a "sweet home." This desire partly explains the diminishing willingness of younger men to sacrifice their lives for their jobs, a situation that Japanese economic planners find alarming.

Japanese women are expected to sacrifice their lives for their children, and they do. Their isolated efforts are now being denounced as "smother love" and blamed by professionals for the intractability of the young. Furthermore, even the most dedicated *kyoiku-mama* (education mamma) finds that the years spent doggedly nagging her two children toward success take up far less of her life span than it did of her grandmother's, who probably had five children and died, on average, 30 years younger

Two out of three Japanese women have had an abortion, which is so common, "it is like having a tooth out," says

Sumiko Okuzawa, Ritsuko Yamariyo and Michiko Fujita in a Tokyo suburb

Housewife, student and businesswoman, each holds a vision of equality

Dr. Etsuko Negishi, a woman gynecologist. One reason for the routine acceptance of abortion as a means of birth control is that culturally and religiously the Japanese do not consider sex, or abortion, as presenting moral problems. A more practical reason is the fact that the most effective contraceptive, the pill, is still believed to be medically unsafe, and has never been approved for general use, despite Japan's dense population.

Last year a new fundamentalist religious group called Seicho no Ie (House of Growth) collected 7 million signatures in an effort to remove the "economic reasons" clause cited by 99.7% of women who obtained abortions. The antiabortion effort, supported by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, prompted more than 100 women's groups to a rare demonstration of organized political protest.

When her children are grown, a Japanese woman has half her life before her. "At this point," says Shigeo Saito, author of the bestselling *Wives' Adolescence*, a book on the problems of housewives, "there is no really meaningful life for women." For many, flower arranging, English lessons and shopping are unsatisfactory time fillers. Japanese universities offer no chance for the kind of re-entry education possible in the U.S.

As a way of giving purpose to their lives, women are increasingly turning to politics. Japanese women have a higher voting rate than their men. They are the backbone of the peace movement, and although they constitute only about 3% of the elected members of parliament (25 of 763), this percentage is about the same as that of American women members of Congress ten years ago. For some women, divorce is a new *junpingubodo* (jumping board). While the divorce rate last year (1.39 per 1,000 population) was far lower than in the U.S. (5.3 per 1,000), it is doubling every year.

Divorce is perilous in a country where women have little chance of earning an adequate income. Even housewives, who are credited with having great power because they manage the family finances, have in fact no legal control over the purse. Although the ideal continues to be a traditional marriage with a woman totally occupied by her family, in reality women make up more than one-third of the Japanese labor force. Seventy percent of them are married, and their wages are half that of men. In the workplace, they face an impenetrable wall of discrimination. The job-placement tests that determine the careers of young men are often not open to young women, who are hired as ornamental tea makers, "O.L.s" (office ladies) destined to be eased out as they reach 27, on the assumption that they will soon be getting married. Mitsubishi, the nation's No. 1 trading company, last year recruited, with fanfare, 90 female college graduates. But, said a spokesman, "they were hired under the category of secretarial work. We cannot go ahead with higher-ranking recruitment at a time when many people find it improper for women to be at business negotiations."

A great scandal (prompting the typical Japanese reaction: a resigned and knowing shrug) broke out recently when *Fujin Minshu Shimbun*, a Tokyo feminist newspaper, published a personnel memo from the office of Kinokuniya Bookstore, one of the nation's largest retailers. The memo listed some warning signs when considering hiring women: ugly women, short women, argumentative women, divorcees, women interested in reformist politics, women who "respect passionate artists like Van Gogh"—in fact, practically all women. Nevertheless, nearly half of Kinokuniya's employees are women, 60% of whom work part-time.

Therein lies the secret of Japan's vaunted lifetime employment system. Women, whose salaries are often necessary to maintain their family's middle-class status, have quadrupled the part-time labor force in the past two decades. They are paid only about half of their full-time counterparts, and they receive almost no fringe benefits or long-term security, although they work the same amount of hours. "Women part-time workers are holding down the entire Japanese wage scale," says a specialist in women's labor, Emiko Shibayama. "Use of part-time women workers is part of Japan's international economic strategy for the 1980s."

For more than 150,000 Japanese women the solution has been to join foreign companies, usually as English-speaking executive secretaries. Still, they are given responsibility and treated respectfully. Half of the medical technicians, teachers and entertainers in Japan are women. Japanese fiction has been revitalized by women writers, a tradition going back to the 11th century when Lady Murasaki wrote *The Tale of Genji*, Japan's greatest work.

Japanese women today are educated in nearly the same numbers and by the same standards as men, and some possess technical skills too valuable to ignore. However, says 23-year-old Kayoko Hirosawa, "as a woman you have to work twice as hard as a man to get to the same place. If you don't, you're not recognized." Hirosawa is one of a generation of young Japanese women who were trained at home by such precepts as "You're a girl, you bathe after the man" and "You're a girl, you cover your mouth when you smile." Education would once have been something that "polished" her for marriage. But Hirosawa wants to go to a university so that some day she can realize both her ambitions: to have a husband and to run her own trading company.

Hirosawa is one of Japan's new women, the wave of the future. She believes she is rare. Sumiko Okuzawa, a 36-year-old housewife, thinks of herself as rare as well. She says, "I want my daughter to be a career woman, because I learned while working that you can't be a real person unless you work." And so does 57-year-old Michiko Fujita, a woman who wears the traditional kimono but who nevertheless operates her own business. She says, "I want to live my life, not be given life by my husband. Young people have it easier now and think more about these things, but I have the same dreams." ***—By Jane O'Reilly. Reported by Alan Tansman/Tokyo***

Urbanized, educated and middle class, Japanese women give signs of warning

Women workers: the secret of Japan's vaunted lifetime employment system.

New wave: Kayoko Hirosawa

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Waterbeds and Willow Worlds

Japan is a strange mixture of open sex and silent frustration

特別号 行動

Yasuko (not her real name) is 19, an economics major at a Tokyo university and a member of a year-old organization known as the Mistress Bank. Men pay about $830 to join the bank and acquire a mistress, usually a college student or an office girl. Yasuko paid the usual fee for women, about $200, and was matched a week later with a 48-year-old gas-station owner who visits her every two weeks and pays her a monthly allowance of $330. Women in the bank negotiate their own remuneration, and some of the mistresses make more than $2,000 each month. "I don't think I'm a prostitute, I think I'm an average coed," says Yasuko, who is saving up to buy a car. "Being a mistress is sort of a part-time job for me."

Yasuko's matter-of-fact attitude toward sex is typical in Japan. Unlike the Christian West, Japan has no tradition of sexual sinfulness. Sex is a bodily function, like eating, and does not involve questions of morality. But notions of propriety and the need to protect "face" often make the Japanese look like the ordinary evasive cheaters of the guilt-ridden West. Though the sexual patterns are often baffling to foreigners, permissiveness and restrictiveness live side by side in the Japanese mind. Yasuko feels no shame, but she does not tell her family or boyfriend about her part-time employment, and the gas-station owner does not tell his wife.

When Japan opened to the West about a century ago, prostitution was legal. Erotic (even pornographic) wood-block prints circulated freely. And although there were highborn men who guarded the virtue of their wives and unmarried daughters, sex was not viewed as a matter of serious social concern by most of the population. Sterner attitudes crept in with attempts to emulate the West. In an effort to redirect the nation's energies, pre-World War II governments passed laws regulating public sexual behavior, and prostitution became a crime in 1958. Authorities even spread groundless beliefs against masturbation, warning that it would shrink the height of practitioners or turn them into imbeciles. Says Social Psychologist Hiroyoshi Ishikawa of Seijo University in Tokyo: "The past century is a history of sexual distortion."

The result of these confused signals is that Japan has caught up to the West in sexual frustration. Says Ishikawa: "A small portion of young people in Japan are sexually very, very active, while the vast majority are sexually repressed." A recent government survey showed that only 12.7% of Japanese women between the ages of 15 and 23 have had sex. The figure for men in the same age group was 18%. (According to the Alan Guttmacher Institute, in the U.S. 35% of females and 46% of males between the ages of 13 and 19 have experienced sex.)

Sexy billboard lures customers to peep show

Paradoxically, Japan still operates as a sexually open society. Sex is available at massage parlors and in red-light districts (euphemistically called *karyukai*, or flower and willow worlds). Along expressways and in the midst of some residential areas are gaudy love hotels shaped like Cinderella castles, Arabian palaces and passenger liners. They contain such appointments as rotating elevator beds and musical waterbeds that are for rent by the hour.

Love hotel shaped like a passenger liner

Rotating elevator beds for rent by the hour.

As elsewhere, the double standard reigns. Traditionally, Japanese couples deemphasize sex as soon as a child is born. The wife is then supposed to remain faithful, however frustrated she may be, while the male looks elsewhere for his pleasures. Many workaholic Japanese males, perhaps in search of variety, break loose when they step out of their country. One popular vacation is the packaged sex tour, often disguised as a sightseeing jaunt and sponsored by companies and professional associations. Each year about 1 million Japanese men sign up and head for sexual binges in Taipei, Bangkok, Seoul or Manila, often conducting their revels at Japanese-only bars and brothels. Manners and sexual behavior on these trips are often less fastidious than at home. The Japanese proverb that applies: "When on a trip, throw away shame."

Japanese men prefer deferential, unassertive women. The sexually adroit *toruko* courtesans—former office girls, bar girls and divorcees—are very submissive, and so are the most popular mistresses at the Mistress Bank. Says Machiko Tsutsumi, 22, founder of the bank: "I think this is mainly because the men want to polish and mold inexperienced girls."

Japanese men are obsessed with foreign women, particularly blonds. The most sought-after prostitutes in Tokyo are blond, and blond dancers from North and South America are the main attractions at striptease and live sex shows. Almost all Western features are regarded as sexy. Brooke Shields and Farrah Fawcett are famous fantasy figures in Japan. In fact, Japanese women still show up at cosmetic surgeons asking to be turned into look-alikes of Hollywood leading ladies.

But the Japanese worship of the Caucasian look may be on the wane—at least among women. "In the past five years, Japanese girls have awakened to the charm of Oriental features," says Plastic Surgeon Fumihiko Umezawa. About 100 women visit Umezawa's Tokyo clinic each day, most of them eschewing the Western look and simply asking for touch-ups in eyes, noses, chins and breasts. "A disproportionately huge breast," he says, "is no longer considered a sexual turn-on." Stunning beauties are currently out of fashion. It is sexier nowadays to be cute, with a somewhat vacant expression, like Seiko Matsuda, a 21-year-old singing star. One of Matsuda's teeth is crooked, and it is regarded as a charming feature.

Japanese women are now taller, more assertive and less willing to dye their hair blond or light brown to please their men. The problem is that none of this seems to affect the fantasy life of males. The Japanese man still hankers after the foreign and the docile. *—By John Leo. Reported by Yuki Ishikawa/Tokyo*

Into the Soul of Fabric

Japanese designers shape a fashion revolution in the West

特別号 生活基準

If there are, say, ten great fashion designers in the world right now, then at least three of them are Japanese. These are not international celebrity couturiers, doing cunning variations on conventional forms. These are revolutionaries, insurgents whose aim is to modify, sometimes even change, the shape and form of clothing itself.

Yohji Yamamoto. Rei Kawakubo. Issey Miyake. They are widely, wildly respected among the feudal states of fashion, and are beginning to be recognized in the big world outside. Even for people who may have trouble pronouncing the names on the labels in a boutique, there is a growing perception of the changes these designers are trying to make. Fabric sewed and folded into shapes that shift on the body like shadows. Colors that seem to come from the shaded, sun-dried underside of the spectrum. Clothes that reshape the body with the undulations of their fabric. Garments in which the space between the body and the cloth sets up a sliding, changing movement that is like an ever mutable silhouette. Fashion is meant to be a frivolous business, but consider: in no other area of culture and commerce has Asian style had such a direct impact on the West. The Japanese designers are playing by their own rules.

This may seem like heavy freight for mere fashion to bear, but Japanese designers do not usually make the fussy Western distinction between craft and art. Issey Miyake talks about the "energy" of fabric and works with a bolt of cloth like a sculptor with clay, not molding it into a presketched design but draping the whole length over a body, drawing the shape of the final garment from the fabric itself as it works in easy collaboration with the body. Rei Kawakubo, the most austere and cerebral of these new designers, speaks intensely about "getting down to the essence of shapelessness, formlessness and colorlessness." At first glance, her men's and women's clothes for Comme des Garçons (the name means "like the boys" and was chosen by Kawakubo for both its lilt and its casual defiance of traditional gender stereotypes) resemble items from a thrift shop at the far corner of Macbeth's blasted heath. Nonetheless, they have an ease that confounds traditional expectations of elegance

Yohji Yamamoto, whose wondrously simple cascades of fabric combine Kawakubo's seriousness and Miyake's ebullience, may say that "fashion is fashion. In the end I think that fashion should not be an art." But he also expects his clothes to have the social impact of some major masterwork. "If you want to wear these," he says, "then you must change your situation!"

Yamamoto, 39, spent a little time in Paris during the late 1960s, absorbing European influences and watching the growing impact of his countryman Kenzo Takada, 43, on the insular enclave of French fashion. The whimsically heretical Kenzo and the silkenly elegant *haute couturière* Hanae Mori, 57, were the first Japanese designers to have any visibility or impact outside their own country, and both had to leave home and establish bases of operation in Paris or New York City to do it. Japanese fashion was not a force then. It was really more like a curiosity, and Yamamoto returned to Tokyo to spend the next three years with his mother, a dressmaker, turning out "very form-fitting, terrible clothes for women whose money came from their husbands or boyfriends." At about this same time, Kawakubo, 40, a former advertising coordinator and stylist, was working out her own first fashion forays, which were almost painfully conventional reworkings of European-style peasant dresses and glitzy knits.

It was Miyake, also around this period, who was making the greatest strides

ISSEY MIYAKE "Trying to peel away to the limit of fashion": a coat of cashmere worn over pants made of silk and wool

REI KAWAKUBO "Down to formlessness": hand-knit wool sweater of shifting shapes and, for men, calculated campus rumple

Photographs for TIME by Nana Wantanabe

forward. Now 45, Miyake had served apprenticeships with Givenchy and Laroche in Paris and with Geoffrey Beene in New York. He had watched students storm through the streets of Paris in 1968 and seen their American contemporaries staging what Miyake calls "the jeans revolution." "I was always thinking," he says, "of how I could be original, and changing the length of dresses was not enough. I respect European tradition, but the Europeans do it better."

Returning to Tokyo in 1970, he set up his own company. His first fashion collection the following year was rooted in the transmogrified past. He used *sashiko*, an ancient form of quilted material traditionally meant for workers' clothing and judo uniforms. Miyake wove it wide, not narrow, and softened it so it yielded an unexpected, even sensuous, pliability.

"It was my denim," he says. In those early years, the shapes had their traditional roots as well. Miyake made a housecoat, called a *tanzen*, into a hooded wool coat and turned striped cloth used to lead horses on ceremonial occasions into a jersey. He made tucked cotton jumpsuits so intricate that he evoked origami, the ancient art of paper folding, and he turned a farmer's backpack into a knit jacket. Says he: "I was trying to peel away to the limit of fashion."

Every designer has to go through that same peeling process. Yamamoto and Kawakubo are in a sense just finishing up for themselves what Miyake passed through a few years before. Calling Miyake simply a forerunner is an almost careless understatement, like calling Johnny Appleseed a dirt farmer. Miyake not only led the way but showed the direction as well. Today his direction remains bold and his technique consistent. "It is important for me not to take out the best part of the fabric by cutting a piece out of the middle, as a European would do." Instead of using old fabric, he has, for some time now, been making his own. Currently, he is working with a heavily textured stretch knit that looks like a lava flow, and is trying to decide what to do with an exotic combination of linen backed with Shetland wool that he has aptly dubbed "the I don't know" fabric.

Other directions, for all three designers, seem a little clearer. Kawakubo, who insists that "a jacket does not necessarily always have to have a back, any more than it has to have a shoulder line," will continue with her canny experimentation in regimented shapelessness, this year cutting and knotting her loose silhouettes into closer conformation with the wearer. Yamamoto will continue his excursions along the friendly edge of the outer limits. "A piece of paper has a surface and a back," he likes to say. "Other designers are doing the surface, and I am doing the back." Miyake is taking a direction that many Westerners will understand: a somewhat stricter shaping, although always within loose-limbed limits. "I had to do something different," he says. "I have been getting closer to the body."

The attention and attendant excitement around these three designers has buoyed the whole field of Japanese fashion. It may just be a trick of the limelight, but there seems to be bright talent everywhere. The gifted Mitsuhiro Matsuda, 49, makes clothes for his company, Nicole, that feature a kaleidoscopic collision of American influences: *Annie Hall* meets *Mean Streets*. Two of his contemporaries, Hiroko Koshino, 46, and Yukiko Hanai, 45, are showing a more European, high-fashion look. Younger designers like Shin Hosokawa, 33 (owner-designer of Pashu), and Yumiko Tamura, 28, and Tokio Kumagai, 35 (two of the major designers for Jun), are also showing keen interest and flair in appealing to the young, unmarried Japanese who still live at home with parents and whose salary checks do not yet have to support a family.

While the aesthetic influence of Yamamoto, Miyake and Kawakubo may be out of proportion to their earnings, there is still little reason to fret about their corporate coffers. Miyake's business now grosses $20 million a year; Yamamoto's newer company already grosses more than that; and Comme des Garçons, with sales growing at an average of 20% a year, is preparing to open its first American boutique in New York's fast and flashy SoHo district.

If Japanese fashion requires—indeed, demands—a kind of cerebral re-evaluation in prospect, in practice it does exactly what its designers preach. The clothes are easy to wear, eccentric only at their most extreme and flattering because they seem to relax around the wearer, not enveloping, containing or constraining the body, but rather exalting its freedom. At its best and at its essence, Japanese fashion not only holds on to the romance of the Asian past but extends a small promise of a shared future. *—By Jay Cocks. Reported by Sandra Burton/Tokyo*

YOHJI YAMAMOTO
"You must change your situation": a fast fix of color and pattern in a gingham skirt and pants worn with a hand-dyed coat

Works of a Woman's Hand

Toko Shinoda bases new abstractions on ancient calligraphy

特別号 芸術

Down a winding side street in the Aoyama district, western Tokyo. Into a chunky, white apartment building, then up in an elevator small enough to make a handful of Western passengers friends or enemies for life. At the end of a hall on the fourth floor, to the right, stands a plain brown door. To be admitted is to go through the looking glass. *Sayonara* today. Hello *(Konnichiwa)* yesterday and tomorrow.

Toko Shinoda, 70, lives and works here. She can be, when she chooses, one of Japan's foremost calligraphers, master of an intricate manner of writing that traces its lines back some 3,000 years to ancient China. She is also an avant-garde artist of international renown, whose abstract paintings and lithographs rest in museums around the world. These diverse talents do not seem to belong in the same epoch. Yet they have somehow converged in this diminutive woman who appears in her tiny foyer, offering slippers and ritual bows of greeting.

She looks like someone too proper to chip a teacup, never mind revolutionize an old and hallowed art form. She wears a blue-and-white kimono of her own design. Its patterns, she explains, are from Edo, meaning the period of the Tokugawa shoguns, before her city was renamed Tokyo in 1868. Her black hair is pulled back from her face, which is virtually free of lines and wrinkles. Except for the gold-rimmed spectacles perched low on her nose (this visionary is apparently nearsighted), Shinoda could have stepped directly from a 19th century Meiji print.

Her surroundings convey a similar sense of old aesthetics, a retreat in the midst of a modern, frenetic city. The noise of the heavy traffic on a nearby elevated highway sounds at this height like distant surf. Delicate bamboo shades filter the daylight. The color arrangement is restful: low ceilings of exposed wood, off-white walls, pastel rugs of blue, green and gray.

It all feels so quintessentially Japanese that Shinoda's opening remarks come as a surprise. She points out (through a translator) that she was not born in Japan at all but in Dairen, Manchuria. Her father had been posted there to manage a tobacco company under the aegis of the occupying Japanese forces, which seized the region from Russia in 1905. She says, "People born in foreign places are very free in their thinking, not restricted." But since her family went back to Japan in 1915, when she was two, she could hardly remember much about a liberated childhood? She answers, "I think that if my mother had remained in Japan, she would have been an ordinary Japanese housewife. Going to Manchuria, she was able to assert her own personality, and that left its mark on me."

Evidently so. She wears her *obi* low on the hips, masculine style. The porcelain aloofness she displays in photographs shatters in person. Her speech is forceful, her expression animated and her laugh both throaty and infectious. The hand she brings to her mouth to cover her amusement (a traditional female gesture of modesty) does not stand a chance.

Her father also made a strong impression on the fifth of his seven children: "He came from a very old family, and he was quite strict in some ways and quite liberal in others." He owned one of the first three bicycles ever imported to Japan and tinkered with it constantly. He also decided that his little daughter would undergo rigorous training in a procrustean antiquity.

"I was forced to study from age six on to learn calligraphy," Shinoda says. The young girl dutifully memorized and copied the accepted models. In one sense, her father had pushed her in a promising direction, one of the few professional fields in Japan open to females. Included among the ancient terms that had evolved around calligraphy was *onnade*, or women's writing.

Heresy lay ahead. By the time she was 15, she had already been through nine years of intensive discipline: "I got tired of it and decided to try my own style. My father always scolded me for being naughty and departing from the traditional way, but I had to do it."

She produces a brush and a piece of paper to demonstrate the nature of her rebellion. "This is *kawa*, the accepted calligraphic character for river," she says, deftly sketching three short vertical strokes. "But I wanted to use more than three lines to show the force of the river." Her brush flows across the white page, leaving a recognizable river behind, also flowing. "The simple *kawa* in the traditional language was not enough for me. I wanted to find a new symbol to express the word river."

Her conviction grew that ink could convey the ineffable, "the feeling," as she says, "of wind blowing softly." Another demonstration. She goes to the sliding wooden door of an anteroom and disappears in back of it; the only trace of her is a triangular swatch of the right sleeve of her kimono, which she has arranged for that purpose. A realization dawns. The task of this artist is to paint that three-sided pattern so that the invisible woman attached to it will be manifest to all viewers.

Gen, painted especially for TIME, shows Shinoda's theory in practice. She calls the work "my conception of Japan in visual terms." A dark swath at the left, punctuated by red, stands for history. In the center sits the Chinese character *gen*, which means the present or actuality. A blank pattern at the right suggests an unknown future.

Once out of school, Shinoda struck off on a path significantly at odds with her culture. She recognized marriage for what it would mean to her career ("a restriction") and decided against it. There was a living to be earned by doing traditional calligraphy; she used her free time to paint her variations. In 1940 a Tokyo gallery exhibited her work. (Fourteen years would pass before she got a second show.) War came, and bad times for nearly

Shinoda and a recent painting called *Gen*

Conveying a sense of Japan in visual terms.

everyone, including the aspiring artist, who retreated to a rural area near Mount Fuji and traded her kimonos for eggs.

In 1954 Shinoda's work was included in a group exhibit at New York City's Museum of Modern Art. Two years later, she overcame bureaucratic obstacles to visit the U.S. Unmarried Japanese women were allowed visas for only three months; patiently applying for two-month extensions, one at a time, Shinoda managed to travel about the country for two years. She pulls out a scrapbook from this period. Leafing through it, she suddenly raises a hand and touches her cheek: "How young I looked!" An inspection is called for. The woman in the grainy, yellowing newspaper photograph could easily be the one sitting in this room. Told this, she nods and smiles. No translation necessary.

Her sojourn in the U.S. proved to be crucial in the recognition and development of Shinoda's art. Celebrities such as Actor Charles Laughton and John Lewis of the Modern Jazz Quartet bought her paintings and spread the good word. She also saw the works of the abstract expressionists, then the rage of the New York City art world, and realized that these Western artists, coming out of an utterly different tradition, were struggling toward the same goal that had obsessed her. Once she was back home, her work slowly made her famous.

Although Shinoda has used many materials (fabric, stainless steel, ceramics, cement), brush and ink remain her principal means of expression. She has said, "As long as I am devoted to the creation of new forms, I can draw even with muddy water." Fortunately, she does not have to. She points with evident pride to her inkstone, a velvety black slab of rock, with an indented basin, that is roughly a foot across and two feet long. It is more than 300 years old. Every working morning, Shinoda pours about a third of a pint of water into it, then selects an ink stick from her extensive collection, some dating back to China's Ming dynasty. Pressing stick against stone, she begins rubbing. Slowly, the dried ink dissolves in the water and becomes ready for the brush. No two batches of *sumi* (India ink) are exactly alike; something old, something new. She uses color sparingly. Her clear preference is black and all its gradations: "In some paintings, *sumi* expresses blue better than blue."

It is time to go downstairs to the living quarters. A niece, divorced, and her daughter, 10, stay here with Shinoda; the artist who felt forced to renounce family and domesticity at the outset of her career seems to welcome it now. Sake is offered, poured into small cedar boxes and happily accepted. Hold carefully. Drink from a corner. Ambrosial. And just right for the surroundings and the hostess. A conservative renegade; a liberal traditionalist; a woman steeped in the male-dominated conventions that she consistently opposed. Her trail-blazing accomplishments are analogous to Picasso's. When she says goodbye, she bows. —*By Paul Gray*

LANGUAGE

The Devil's Tongue

Misunderstandings can create both obstacles and insulation

The first-person pronoun *I* is a basic starting point: *ego, je, ich, io, ya*. In Japanese, where nothing is that simple, the word has two dozen or more forms, depending on who is talking, and to whom, and the social relationship between them. An elderly man might refer to himself as *washi*, but his wife would say *watashi*, or, for that matter, *atakushi*, or *atashi;* their daughter might say *atai* and their son *boku*. Then there is *temae*, which means both *you* and *I*. But the Japanese often evade these social difficulties by dropping all pronouns entirely.

The "devil's language" is the description generally attributed to St. Francis Xavier, the 16th century Jesuit missionary. Others have seen in the intricacies of the language a major influence on Japan's intellectual and artistic styles, even on its basic national character. Yet sympathetic observers also believe that the language may represent a serious obstacle to Japan's functioning as a world power. According to former U.S. Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer, "Japanese ideas are transmitted abroad only very weakly and through the filter of a few foreign 'experts' . . . Japanese intellectual life for the most part goes on behind a language barrier."

To cross that barrier, translators and interpreters are more necessary but less effective, since the Japanese language not only is difficult in itself but represents a quite different concept of speech. Anthropologist Masao Kunihiro notes: "English is intended strictly for communication. Japanese is primarily interested in feeling out the other person's mood." Misunderstandings are a constant hazard. At one top-level conference, for example, President Nixon asked for a cut in Japanese textile exports, and Prime Minister Sato answered, *"Zensho shimasu,"* which was translated literally as "I'll handle it as well as I can." Nixon thought that meant "I'll take care of it," but the Japanese understood it to mean something like "Let's talk about something else."

Over the centuries the Japanese have adopted many Chinese words, though the two languages remained entirely separate. Nor was Chinese the only foreign element. Portuguese missionaries later introduced *pan* (bread), and Dutch traders *biiru* (beer). Then came the tidal wave of English. Some of these Japanized words filled a practical need (*takushi*, taxi, or *rajio*, radio), while some were primarily fashionable (*kohi-shoppu*, coffee shop).

Despite the absorption of foreign words, however, the Japanese language developed in a society that was hierarchical and isolated, that avoided controversy and valued subtlety. Even today the language still requires sharp differentiations—different vocabularies, different verb endings—among various levels of polite speech and familiar speech. Some believe that the language is inherently and purposely vague, while others see something more subtle. "Japanese can be made vague," says Paul Anderer, who teaches Japanese literature at Columbia University, "but the language is extraordinarily precise in determining who you are as you speak to someone else about what it is that you or that other person needs."

One of the greatest difficulties in Japanese derives from the fact that it developed as a purely spoken language until about the 5th century A.D., when imperial officials decided to adopt Chinese characters (*kanji*) as their form of writing. Not only was this system extremely difficult in itself, but the two languages were completely different.

Partly because the Chinese *kanji* did not fit Japanese, partly because they were so hard to learn, the Japanese began in the 9th century to develop a supplementary set of phonetic symbols known as *hiragana*. At the same time, because priests had trouble transcribing *kanji*, they invented another set of phonetic symbols all their own (*katakana*). To this day, Japanese is written in *kanji*, which number almost 50,000 (though high school students have been required since 1946 to learn only a basic 2,000) plus the two phonetic sets of 48 characters each. There are also two different systems for translating all these sounds into the Latin alphabet (or *romaji*). Finally, and most formidable of all for a foreigner to interpret, there is a quasilanguage known as *haragei*, roughly translatable as "belly talk," in which the Japanese communicate without using any words at all—only with techniques like the artful silence. ■

The World's Biggest Newspaper

Tempering accurate, serious reporting with a touch of caution

特別号 定期刊行物

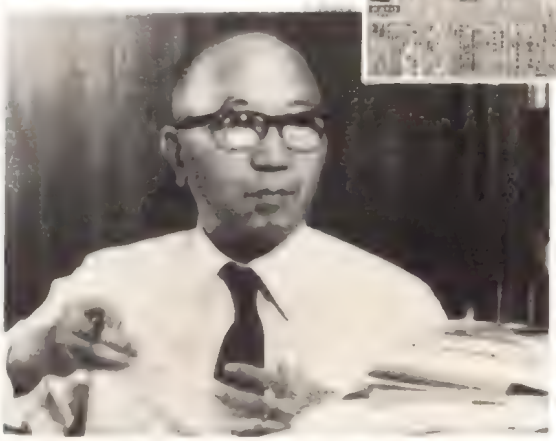
Reporters for *Yomiuri Shimbun* travel in the style that newspapermen elsewhere only think they should: in chauffeur-driven limousines adorned with the newspaper's red-and-white corporate flag. If a chauffeur exceeds the speed limit, no policeman is likely to issue a ticket; instead, a deferential officer may call out, "*Yomiuri-san*, please take pains to slow down. Many thanks." For a longer trip, reporters may fly in one of *Yomiuri's* four helicopters or three airplanes. The paper also operates Japan's foremost professional baseball team, the Yomiuri Giants, founded in 1934 as a circulation gimmick; a 150-acre amusement park called Yomiuriland; a symphony orchestra that has been conducted by Zubin Mehta and Mstislav Rostropovich; and periodic exhibits of paintings by such artists as Renoir and Van Gogh.

Probably no other newspaper anywhere operates on so grand a scale or plays so varied a role in its nation. But then, *Yomiuri Shimbun* is not just Japan's biggest newspaper, it is the world's biggest newspaper. Its still growing morning and evening circulation of 13.6 million (including a 30,000-copy daily edition in English) is bigger than that of the 17 largest U.S. dailies put together. *Yomiuri* operates 436 bureaus in Japan and 28 in the rest of the world. Its editorial staff of 3,059, quadruple that of the New York *Times*, produces a daily paper of 24 to 32 pages with numerous updated and regional editions. The paper reaches 38% of Japan's 34 million households, almost all by home delivery. More than 60% of the subscribers buy both morning and evening editions (joint price: about $11 a month).

The Japanese newspaper field includes four other giants: *Asahi Shimbun* (circ. 12.1 million), which is *Yomiuri's* longtime rival; *Mainichi* (circ. 6.9 million); *Sankei* (circ. 3.1 million); and the business-oriented *Nihon Keizai*, or "*Nikkei*" (circ. 3 million). Though the 119 million Japanese are known as a TV-obsessed society, they buy 68 million copies of 125 daily newspapers, making them perhaps the world's most devoted newspaper readers.

The big dailies, except sober *Nikkei*, are viewed by readers as lively, even racy, but generally are accurate, cover serious news, and strive for objectivity (*Yomiuri* is, however, a zealous cheerleader for its own holdings). A typical Page One of *Yomiuri* will include consumer-oriented Japanese news as well as reports, especially human interest, from abroad. Inside are an editorial page, sports, business and women's news. The paper diligently covers crime, but stories are rarely explicit about sex or gore.

All Japanese newspapers are privately owned; indeed, none sells shares on a public exchange. At *Yomiuri*, as at its rivals, a large block of stock is held in trust for employees. The major newspapers consider themselves independent from political figures, and advertisers: only 40% of *Yomiuri's* revenues come from advertising, *vs.* up to 70% for big U.S. papers. Most of *Yomiuri's* top officers are former reporters or editors.



Presiding over the colossus: *Yomiuri* President Yosoji Kobayashi

Operating on a lavish scale, with a varied role in the nation.

Yomiuri and its two largest rivals compete for scoops in the go-getter fashion of Fleet Street. Yet the Japanese newspapers can be cautious, often in concert, to the point of professional embarrassment: the 1974 allegations of financial misconduct that brought down Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka were first exposed in a magazine, *Bungei Shunju*; the Big Three newspapers did not pick up the story for weeks. Moreover, supposedly competing journals band together in a peculiarly Japanese institution, the "press clubs." At major sources of news (government ministries, political party headquarters, the 47 police prefectures), correspondents from daily newspapers control the flow of information. Though most politicians profess to hate the press, they comply with club rules. Generally, only a member may ask questions at press conferences; in some cases, only members may attend. Membership is denied to magazine reporters and foreigners.

In recent years, the Japanese press has become less of a monolith. All of the Big Three papers are occasionally xenophobic, but *Yomiuri* has grown conservative and pro-government, positions that *Asahi* and *Mainichi* generally do not share. Moderate support of the government reflects a gradual but radical change at *Yomiuri*, which was built on suspicion toward whoever was in power. Founded in 1874, the paper dates its rise from 1924, when it was bought by a former police official, Matsutaro Shoriki. A business associate of the American press lord William Randolph Hearst, Shoriki echoed Hearst's populist impulses in his own dictum, "Do not trust experts because they know nothing of the masses." *Yomiuri* was the first major Japanese paper to run a full list of radio programs and later formed Japan's first commercial TV network. Shoriki's most enduring brainchild was baseball, which he helped popularize. Says one *Yomiuri* official: "Each time the Giants win, our readers yell '*Banzai!*' while watching them over our NTV, and again when reading about them in our paper." After Shoriki died in 1969, the paper was headed by Mitsuo Mutai, 87, who is known as *hanbai no kamisama*—god of newspaper sales. In June, Mutai was succeeded by Yosoji Kobayashi, 70, a son-in-law of Shoriki.

Yomiuri has no trouble attracting reporting talent: some 2,000 university graduates competed this spring for 38 jobs by taking *Yomiuri's* test. It includes history, civics and foreign languages (reporters must be fluent in at least one), and poses such journalistic problems as devising a story to fit a photograph. Jobs last until retirement; it is all but unthinkable for a Japanese reporter to shift to public relations. The glamorous style of travel helps compensate. *Yomiuri* reporters for a modest salary (the average: $24,500). One aspect of working life that would displease most Western reporters: *Yomiuri* gives almost no bylines. Editorial Board Chairman Tsuneo Watanabe explains, "I would want to develop star reporters, but the Japanese tradition of anonymity among writers dies hard." If any one thing would make Japanese newspapering seem utterly alien to U.S. reporters, that is it: journalists who prefer to be unknown and who nonetheless ride in limousines. —*By William A. Henry III.*

Reported by S. Chang/Tokyo

"Like a Flower on a Pond"

The classics flourish in Japan, but how deep are their roots?

特別号 音楽

Down the long corridors of the Tokyo University of Arts and in the crowded classrooms of the Toho Gakuen school, the technicians are at work, taking the measure of one of Japan's hottest imports. They pore over its structure as carefully as they would over a new automobile design; they grasp it as firmly as they do a microchip or a reflex-camera lens, anticipating the day when their country will be as formidable in this field as it is in so many others. It is not the Three Cs—cameras, computers and cars—that fire their imagination so, but the Three Bs: Bach, Beethoven and Brahms.

The adoption of Western classical music by Japan has been remarkable. There are nine professional symphony orchestras in Tokyo alone, with others in such major cities as Osaka, Nagoya and Kyoto. There is a booming recital scene, featuring both native artists and foreign performers who come to Japan attracted by the high fees and attentive, respectful audiences. Music schools turn out string players and pianists who are the equal of any in their technical command and knowledge of the repertory.

Although opera and ballet have yet to take firm hold, visiting companies invariably draw large audiences. At year's end, there are so many performances of Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* that people refer to the annual flood as "*Ninth* pollution." During the 1982 holiday season it was performed some 100 times across the country. By any standard, it seems, Western classical music is thriving in Japan, as much a part of the culture today as the ancient lutes and zithers.

Very young violinists perform in Tokyo

Zealously imitating the teachers' style.

Appearances, however, can be deceiving. Although classical music has a high profile, it functions both as symbol and as art, its usefulness perceived socially as well as aesthetically. When explaining their country's fervent embrace of classical music, the Japanese almost never cite the qualities that have kept it flourishing in the West: beauty, emotional appeal, elegance. Instead, they speak of concert music almost as a commodity, whose import and manufacture they have undertaken with characteristic zeal. "We have adopted the Western style in our social life," explains Kazuyuki Toyama, a leading Tokyo music critic. "We wear Western clothes, not kimonos; we watch baseball. So do we respect Western culture, and reflect it in our daily life."

That pragmatic attitude is echoed in the quality of many Japanese performances, which tend to stress technique over insight. This is largely due to the extraordinary respect, bordering on veneration, that the Japanese have for teachers, or *sensei;* too often students seek to imitate a teacher's style in preference to developing an individual interpretation. The innate Japanese reluctance to assert oneself in public is partly to blame, as is the strong desire to honor the *sensei* by reproducing their imparted wisdom. But in Western music, which prizes individuality, such cultural conditioning is a hindrance. Notes Kimura: "The principal defect of Japanese performers today is that they don't have their own strong opinions about the music they are playing."

Says Toyama, who also runs one of Tokyo's most active concert halls: "Our musicians excel technically, but I don't know if Japan has yet produced any master artists. When you play Western music, what is most important is interpretation. We have mastered the technique. Now we have to go on." So far, few Japanese musicians have achieved international prominence; the best known is Conductor Seiji Ozawa, music director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. At home he leads the New Japan Philharmonic, but his career has been largely Western.

Beyond all talk of technique, though, is the larger issue of what Western music means to the Japanese. Takashi Funayama, a musicology professor at Tokyo University of Arts, compares the musical scene to a flower floating placidly on a pond. "It is big and very beautiful," he says, "but it has no roots."

The chasm between technique and emotion, however wide it is today, may be ultimately bridgeable; Japan, after all, has had only about a century to assimilate a radically foreign art form. But Western music faces other problems of a more practical nature. Because many Tokyo

Faces at the Top

Their faces are soft and pretty, their voices tender and sweet. When it comes to pop music, the Japanese like their stars young and female. Last week the top of the pops belonged to a handful of singers—Hiroko Yakushimaru, Akina Nakamori, Naoko Kawai and Tomoyo Harada—whose claim to fame owes more to their winsome good looks than their modest vocal talent. Says Shig Fujita, an entertainment writer for the *Asahi Evening News:* "The most popular singers have no singing voices. They are promoted as round, cute faces, singing basically the same songs."

The Japanese rock scene is largely bland. Popular sounds are either innocuous imitations of ABBA-like Europop—like Yakushimaru's current No. 1 single, *Be a Little Bit Gentle*—and the derivative post-Beatles croonings of male stars like Shinji Tanimura and Motoharu Sano. Overwhelmingly domestic in origin (Japanese performers account for about 70% of the record market), the pop world shows little sign of the sometimes violent creativity now rampant in the post-punk West.

Pop Singer Kawai

Also currently riding high are Nakamori's throaty *Twilight,* Kawai's lively *Escalation* and Harada's *The Maiden Who Takes Time,* a simple ballad sung in a childlike voice over a gentle rock beat. The best-selling album is *Kirei* (Pretty) by the Southern All-Stars, a Beach Boys clone making a comeback after ten years of declining popularity. But the Japanese are not entirely immune to international pop trends: No. 2 on the album charts is the sound track from *Flashdance.* Come to think of it, there's a pretty face in that one too.

residents have long commutes to the central city, and because the city's buses, trains and subways stop running after midnight, concerts must begin early, about 7 p.m. But Japanese professionals often have little leisure time. Although some large companies buy blocks of tickets to distribute to their staffs, Japanese audiences are, by Western standards, disproportionately youthful.

"Western music is primarily popular today with the younger people," says Tadashi Mori, permanent conductor of the NHK (Nippon Hoso Kyokai, or Japan Broadcasting Corp.) Symphony and a professor at the Toho Gakuen School of Music. "The young people were crazy about rock when the Beatles were popular. Now they go to the classics." But not always just to hear the music. Says Syuji Fujii, chief director of the music division at NHK: "Music is used to make friends, to get a wife. These are just temporary music lovers."

Once the young people enter the business world, explains Fujii, many of them abandon classical music for *enka*, which combines both Western and traditional music elements in a kind of Japanese equivalent of American country and western. Traditional Japanese music, marked by delicate use of microtones, refined textures and free rhythm, was downgraded during the drive toward Westernization. But it remains popular, especially with older people and in the provinces, and is preserved in the Noh, Bunraku and Kabuki theaters. "We never had a national traditional music," says Toyama. "It was strictly apportioned by classes: the courts, the samurai, the merchants each had their own. But everyone can participate in the Western system." Although some composers like Toru Takemitsu have lately attempted to synthesize traditional music with Western styles, the two forms remain worlds apart, with little overlap in audience.

Indeed, it is Western, not traditional music, that has become the Japanese lingua franca. On television, the strains of *Voi che sapete* from *The Marriage of Figaro* plug Suntory whisky, and a Strauss waltz is used as a background for a refrigerator-deodorizer ad. At a children's concert by the New Japan Philharmonic recently, more than 2,000 grade schoolers in the audience rose at the conductor's behest and, in two-part harmony, sang the *Ode to Joy* from Beethoven's *Ninth*.

Japanese musicians are aware of the critics' reservations and are striving to improve. Says Naoyuki Miura, a former bassist with the Japan Philharmonic now living in New York City: "I think their criticisms are valid, but at the same time we are trying very, very hard to develop. We are looking to the future, to the day when individuality will arrive."

The challenge facing Japanese music, then, is to deepen the understanding of an art they now share with the West. Performers, having proved themselves the equal of any technically, must now transcend their *sensei* and find their own, distinctly Japanese voices. —*By Michael Walsh*

Lofty TV Goals

Winning fans with quality

Two shrines stand a stone's throw from each other in Tokyo's Shibuya district. One looks toward the past; the other embodies the present. The first, the Meiji memorial, a Shinto edifice of Japanese cypress embellished with gilded copper, is dedicated to Emperor Hirohito's grandfather. The other, which glints a deep azure in the sun, is the modernistic steel-and-glass headquarters of NHK, Japan's public broadcasting system, symbol of a national obsession: television.

The Japanese lead the world in the number of hours spent in front of the TV set. A 1982 study shows that in Japan the average family spends 8 hr. 15 min. a day watching TV, in contrast to 6 hr. 43 min. in the U.S. Television ownership is the highest in the world. Some 98% of homes have a color set (U.S. 89%). Another recent study reveals that the tube has become so essential that 31% of the Japanese would rather part with their cars, refrigerators, newspapers or telephones than give up their TV screens.

For the Japanese, television in essence means NHK, the world's largest, richest and most diverse public broadcasting network. Although there are 99 commercial stations around the country affiliated with the five major stations in Tokyo, the noncommercial NHK is watched as much as all the others combined. Like the BBC, NHK subsists on collection fees: 30.4 million subscriber homes pay $41 each year, giving NHK more than $1.24 billion to work with. The fee is optional, but almost no one refuses to make the donation.

Unlike almost everyone else in the world, NHK viewers seem to regard television as life enhancing and benign. The reason is that NHK actually lives up to most of its lofty goals. Launched in 1953, the TV network is self-governing and independent of all political authority. Its constitution grandly states that NHK must "contribute to the ideals of world peace and the welfare of mankind," while ensuring "the preservation of the outstanding examples of national culture." No small order.

NHK tries to fulfill this promise by devoting as much as 40% of its daily general-service programming to educational purposes: lessons in calligraphy, the guitar, economics, political science, English, French, German and Russian. News takes up a considerable 35% of general programming, entertainment only 24%. One recent highlight: *The Silk Road*, a multimillion-dollar, 30-hour epic that explores contemporary life along the ancient Chinese and Central Asian routes followed by the silk caravans. NHK's second channel is dedicated to education and often works in tandem with the nation's primary schools. It also offers Shakespeare, symphonic music, Noh plays and Kabuki drama.

NHK also caters to popular tastes, beaming out sumo wrestling tournaments, baseball games and Japanese-style soap operas. Currently, the most watched show on all television is NHK's *Oshin*, a lachrymose 15-minute daily drama that traces the vicissitudes of a farmer's ambitious daughter who becomes the owner of a chain of supermarkets.

While NHK wins wide audiences with generally distinguished fare, the commercial networks sometimes counterprogram with sex and violence, serving their viewers a steady diet of *chambara* (samurai swordplay), which consists of bloody doses of murder and mayhem set against the exotic background of feudal Japan. A popular weekly commercial series called *Business Is Homicide* strains to come up with ever more ingenious methods of murder, such as strangling by means of the strings of a musical instrument. The commercial networks also program B movies, variety shows and game shows.

An early morning broadcaster at NHK

NHK's success with quality programming may be a result of the highly literate audience that exists in Japan. NHK's accomplishment seems to confute the American notion that mass equals crass, that the major portion of TV programming must inevitably be inconsequential. One American observer, Robert Christopher, author of *The Japanese Mind*, taking note of the excellence of Japanese television, concludes: "TV plays a far more constructive role in Japanese society than in our own." ■

Little Girl at the TV Window

Japan's No. 1 attraction is a nonstop mover and talker

Six minutes until air time, and still no sign of the star. Standing on the portico of Tokyo's TV Asahi station, her manager, her producer and her director nervously scan the driveway. Five minutes. Four minutes. Nothing. At three minutes to the hour, a blood-red Mercedes screeches through the gate, careering into a reserved parking place. Out pops a 5-ft. 3-in., 99-lb. woman who, with her porcelain complexion, delicate features and glistening black hair, might pass for a Kabuki doll. As she scampers along on 2-in. wooden platform shoes, her mouth is already moving faster than her feet.

The entourage steers her (still talking) toward the studio. Sprinting through a door into a living room–like set, she drops daintily onto a white sofa. A quick glance into a hand mirror. Perfection. As the television camera's red light blinks on, she smiles serenely into the lens as if she had spent the entire morning becalmed in the tranquillity of a tea ceremony.

Tetsuko flashes one of the most famous smiles in Japan

Tetsuko Kuroyanagi never stops moving or talking. She is the star of three hit shows on three separate networks; before the day is over she will discuss rape with a young feminist author on one show, play a piano duet of *Lady of Spain* on another and rehearse a review of the week's Top Ten songs for a third. Every weekday afternoon about 10 million viewers see her on the 45-minute *Tetsuko's Room*, Japan's first and most successful daily talk show; each Thursday night 30 million fans tune in to the 60-minute *The Best Ten*, a sort of *Your Hit Parade;* while on Fridays 11 million watch her play host to several 100-piece classical orchestras on the 30-minute *Music Plaza* show.

Tetsuko is more than just the most recognizable face in all of Japan. She is a phenomenon, a conspicuous exception to the tradition of servile and "wifely" women on Japanese television. Until Tetsuko, women on the air were invariably *hai hai* girls, pretty poppets who decorated the chair next to the male host and giggled on cue. But her debut as a talk-show host eleven years ago changed all that. Her quick tongue, candor, spontaneity and irrepressible curiosity were revolutionary and made her a significant role model for ambitious women all across Japan. Says Eiichi Adachi, television critic of Tokyo's daily *Hochi:* "Tetsuko has had more impact on her audience than any other top woman show-business personality." Today, at 49, unabashedly unmarried and proudly independent in a country where both conditions are frowned upon, Tetsuko thrives as a tradition breaker.

That is the theme of Tetsuko's charming 1981 memoir, *Totto-Chan, the Little Girl at the Window,* which has sold an extraordinary 6 million copies, making it the bestselling book in Japanese history. The daughter of a father who was a concert violinist and a mother who trained as an opera singer, Tetsuko was thrown out of her rigid grammar school at the age of six because she liked to stand at an open window and chatter with the swallows and street musicians. She subsequently attended an experimental school in Tokyo that allowed her to blossom in her own way. Her book, a tribute to that school's liberal and humane sensibility, has stirred parents around the country to calls for educational reform.

After graduation from secondary school, Tetsuko hoped to become a coloratura, but her parents wanted her to marry. In 1954, postponing the prospect of marriage, she answered an ad in a newspaper seeking actors for television. One of 13 chosen from among 6,000 applicants, she soon became a popular actress with NHK, the public broadcasting company. "Fame came easily for me," she says. "Because NHK covered all of Japan, my face was seen everywhere."

In 1971, tired of playing a miniskirted hostess on a variety show and a frowzy provincial maid on a soap opera, Tetsuko spent a year in New York City studying acting and perfecting her English. When she received a call from TV Asahi, one of Tokyo's commercial networks, offering her the role of principal host on a lunchtime imitation of America's *Today* show, she promptly accepted. No woman had ever been the principal M.C. of a show. Tetsuko warned the producer that she was far from the prototype of a wife, but he replied, "Housewives are tired of seeing themselves on TV. Through your eyes, your sensibilities, they can see something different."

What they saw in 1972, for the first time on television, was a woman who acted natural. The program was an immediate hit, and three years later Tetsuko was offered her own show, *Tetsuko's Room.* Her timing had been perfect. "My own evolution and Japan's suited each other," she says. "Housewives wanted out of their conservative shells. What they wanted on TV was my individuality."

Tetsuko has been dubbed the Japanese Barbara Walters, but the comparison is misleading. Unlike Walters, Tetsuko shies away from politicians, explaining, "Politicians talk right around the questions." Her guests include authors, actors, sports stars and foreign celebrities, and her paramount concern is making them feel comfortable. "I don't go at it harshly or directly," she says. She coaxes rather than harangues. Although she prepares for her interviews with notes written on origami-like folded paper, her questions are extemporaneous and her manner casually disarming. A recent guest, Author Keiko Ochiai, notes, "In contrast to some feminists, myself included, Tetsuko has a way of talking softly through the TV."

Tetsuko has not stopped challenging her viewers or herself. On the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, she paused during the frothy pop-tune format of *The Best Ten* and delivered a haunting commentary at the site of the destruction. Unorthodox? Yes, and a reminder once again that the woman on the screen is still that curious and headstrong girl at the window. *—By Richard Stengel. Reported by Sandra Burton/Tokyo*

Conversing on the comfortable set of *Tetsuko's Room*

A conspicuous exception to "wifely" women on TV.

Up Among the Roadside Gods

Touring the earth on which paths cross

特別号 旅行

William Least Heat Moon is the author of Blue Highways *(Atlantic-Little, Brown), a presentation of a journey on the back roads of America.* TIME *asked him to describe a brief journey to the back country of Japan.*

We had come out of Tokyo, Tadashi and I, come out of the chaos of bodies and things; come out northward by the bullet train, which gave 100-m.p.h. passage through rice fields hard by small industries and then up through mountain valleys. We had left a city of rooftop birds—pigeons, crows, sparrows—and we hoped to see a different life in these mountains, among the greatest in Japan, the ones called the Alps even in Japanese. Here was the Hida range.

Instead of dingy city birds, now, in Nagano prefecture of central Japan, we saw turtledoves with feathers tipped gold like scales of the carp, and swallows dipping low, and skylarks singing from their hovers. "I know birds," Tadashi said. "There's big ones and small ones."

A city fellow all the way, he works in Tokyo as a translator, after having served 16 years in the Self-Defense Forces. Although raised in Fukuoka, he was born in 1942 in Nagasaki because his mother, following custom, returned to her natal city for the birth. Because of that, as well as to escape air raids near Fukuoka, she and Tadashi returned again to Nagasaki in August of 1945 for the birth of his brother.

He does not remember the explosion. But he remembers his anger when, a few years later, classmates began dying from radiation-induced leukemia. He has worked to put the bitter memory behind him. As a survivor of the nuclear fire, Tadashi receives free lifetime medical care, and he reports twice annually for a physical examination. Perhaps because one of the high hills of Nagasaki stood between him and the epicenter, his health is good.

As for me, born in 1939, I too grew up on the war. The tales of my childhood were more often stories from the front than Grimm or Mother Goose. A disabled Marine told me that the Japanese had green blood—that's why they craved red American blood. And one time I saw snapshots of Japanese atrocities in a P.O.W. camp. For a while thereafter I did not doubt that blood came in different colors.

Tadashi and I had left the bullet train, on which we got to know each other, at Niigata and had taken a limited southwest down along the blue Sea of Japan. At the coastal city of Itoigawa we caught a primitive local that followed the Fossa Magna, that grand cleft dividing interior Japan, up into the Hida range. The train chugged upcountry, passing through hot-spring villages where station names were no longer in Roman letters, passing the jade mines at Kotaki. The railroad paralleled the Himekawa, a river that seemed to flow granite, so stony and gray it was. The dark, snowy Hida peaks had gone into another weather, but in the valley the day was warm, and a butterfly winged wobbly through an open window of the slow coach, turned a circle and flew on out the other side. Many things—insects, machines, workers—chugged slowly.

At last the incline leveled to a high flatness split by the Azusa River and surrounded by the mountains called the roof of Japan. Even at this elevation, rice fields lay in all directions. Planting was finished but for a paddyfield here and about, and seedlings grew green, ready for the "plum rain," the showers of June.

At Misato, a farm village with no lane running straight, we left the railroad and headed west up into the foothills, where we took a room at a mountain inn called Muroyamaso. We were the last to sit down at the long tables already laid with the meal: stewed seaweed with onions, white radishes sliced into threads ("for digestion," Tadashi said), raw octopus and tuna. For dessert, fresh strawberries and kanten, a transparent gelatin made from seaweed and here served with a cherry blossom buried in the center.

We drank Kirin beer, but the farmers, still rosy after the hot bath, drank sake from bottles the size of a short boy. They drew the corks with their teeth and looked down the slopes onto their fields with satisfaction. But they speculated, too, about weather and the harvest. Bound tightly around their temples were *hachimaki*, small towels to absorb sweat and aid concentration.

Also present were members of an elder citizens' club—each man matched to a woman, everyone wearing a starched, post-bath *yukata*. No longer having to concentrate on the fields, they did not wear *hachimaki*. One man, youthful but for the old field worker's curving spine, sat down beside me. His name was Michisada. He talked and talked. Tadashi translated.

"I was in the war, you see. The navy. All here fought. To live was our fate, not our glory." He took my hand and shook it repeatedly, between shakes continuing to hold it. "Guess my age." He was 67, but I chose to say 60. He cackled, shook my hand, then stroked my face. To Tadashi he said, "You and the American come to visit my mushrooms. I'm a farmer of mushrooms. We're a foolish people, and we believe mushrooms keep away cancer."

He offered a cigarette, but I thanked him no. He said, "Tobacco's not for you?" Leaning close, he inserted his thumb between two fingers. "For you, only the sex?" He carefully shielded the gesture from the women, some of whom were humming along with *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden* on the radio. Michisada-san was laughing again, shaking my hand. "Tobacco or sex, your coffin will be waiting."

He pulled me to my feet, stood alongside, an arm linked with mine, and called upon a friend—who had been a naval officer of high rank but was now only wondrously long-headed and bearded like Jurojin, god of wisdom and longevity—to take our picture. "This photo will go to you in America," Michisada-san said. "A souvenir."

From our room, Tadashi and I watched dusk come down the valley to conceal smoke from burning rice straw of last year and only then to reveal the orange fires. In the dark they were points of brilliance like the clear bowl of night turned topsy-turvy.

After we had set out on the tata-

Illustrations for TIME by James McMullan

mi our quilts and pillows of buckwheat chaff and were lying and listening, there started up in the near pines an unearthly sound. Out it went, then from farther away returned a call and, from farther yet, still another, until the slopes rang with cries. I asked what bird it was that made that noise. "Can it be a real bird?" Tadashi said. "Wild monkeys also live in these mountains." The last thing he said was, "Who sleeps with such a bird going?"

All night long the birds struck their calls against the dark. Toward dawn the cuckoos got into it with their ceaseless two notes, then a rooster, and finally the chirping small ones—buntings and white-eyes—until the morning was a racketing.

Michisada-san was waiting in the big hot communal bath, and we soaked together with a grower of mulberry leaves and watched through a somewhat steamy window the fertile plain. "Eat all your food this morning," Michisada-san said. "Especially the egg. It makes for sexual energy in the middle of man." He pointed to his middle parts and laughed.

Instead of the road, Tadashi and I followed the short cut under the big pines into the valley orchards and vineyards. The rocky soil was fertile once it got water, so, although too far above the river here for paddyfields, it produced fruit, melons and chestnuts through a computer-controlled sprinkler system. Down the dusty road until we reached a farmhouse. Tadashi knew the son and his bride.

The Misawa family had lived in Nagano, which means long field, for a thousand years, most of the time as rice growers. After the war, in which he lost both brothers, Daimaru Misawa bought land inexpensively on the dry slope. He cleared mountain pine and, with other villagers, put in a cooperative irrigation system. In the '50s he built a home, then a larger one ten years ago. His 4.4-acre farm is about twice the average acreage here, and his grapes, apples, peaches and melons have done well. The eldest son, Isamu, had just installed a new, promising method for improving grape production with vinyl tents.

Now Daimaru, at 72, had time to build a traditional garden with a small fishpond, and he could watch television documentaries and foreign movies late into the night. I asked about the strange bird cries of last evening. "I know them," he said. "They come only with darkness. It's the bird nobody knows."

To welcome us, the women, Michiko and Fuyuko, served barley tea, buns stuffed with pigweed, pickles, garden strawberries and grape juice from the vineyards. We sat on the earth in the orchard under an old peach tree. I pulled a dandelion and told how Americans eat the spring leaves. There was much giggling, so much that the women covered their mouths. "We eat everything," Daimaru said. "But *this*, is this not a weed?" When I pulled a plantain leaf and said it also was a good spring green, they were beside themselves with laughter. After things calmed, Daimaru said, "Next April I will try them."

The family returned to stripping fruit. From a branch carrying six olive-size young peaches, the women plucked all but the largest so that it might grow to its maximum. This attention to each fruit gave them a good living.

Tadashi and I hiked down lanes lined with mugwort smelling like sage, through a bamboo thicket, into a blossoming locust grove, on past rice fields and small houses. The oldest houses had thatched roofs caked with moss, while the newer had synthetic tiles and solar panels. "Japan," Tadashi said, "is always a mixture."

By each home was a garden of leeks, bottle gourds, eggplants, cucumbers, cabbages, tomatoes. Along the lanes ran yew hedges and irrigation troughs rushing a swift, cold water, which sometimes carried clover blossoms that children had tossed in a mile away. Shadows from the wings of circling black kites sent pigs squealing, and wind from a dark mountain storm set scarecrows to flapping.

Often out of a paddyfield, muddy prints from bare feet walked bodiless up the road to the next plot; stepping along in the tracks gave me the sense of moving in another time. Occasionally, unexpected, dark rice-field birds rose screeching into the air like so much winged mud flung upward. In one small plot, full of starlings, it was as if the field itself thought to take flight.

Walking, I began to notice carved stones along the lanes. Dozens of them there were: at crossroads, above fields, at boundaries. Although each white granite rock was unique, every one showed two relief figures cut into a naturally smoothed stone about three feet high. "*Dosojin*," Tadashi said. "Shinto roadside god."

Sojin means ancestor deity, but *do*, a word of philosophic significance, with a slight variation in the vowel, can mean both road and earth. While somewhat akin to the Tyrolean wayside crucifixes carved by peasants, these artless yet evocative Japanese workers' carvings conveyed not a Christus in agony but a field hand's vitality in the face of difficult life. The *Dosojin* pair dance and kiss, smile and scowl, they drink, sometimes they copulate, and frequently here in Nagano, they stand simply in quietude, holding hands, their bodies often scarcely distinguishable one from the other. Always it is man beside woman, because *Dosojin* is both male and female, singular and plural, one and its other. *Dosojin* is a linking god.

This is no stripped Saviour long in dying; rather it is a god, garbed in a field hand's wrinkled trousers or a courtier's robes, whose turn of eyelid or curl of lip reveals a countryman's untutored chisel responding to existence. The vigorous *Dosojin* may thrust a bold face at the world, and a huge hand may grope within the companion's jacket or reach clumsily for a groin.

In these divinities, layers of meaning are ancient and many, and they express an ambiguous fluidity of intuitive thought that the directness of art conveys well but language does not. The Westerner must abandon exclusive definitions. But this much is clear: 17th century stonecutters, freed from building fortifications during the ruinous civil wars, returned home to carve deities that confer peace as well as protection against disease and destruction. What emerges is a godhead made in the image of peasant reality, where one sees not the human in the god but rather the capacity for deity—the power of realizing life—in the human. The carvers combined the ordinary with the sublime.

Dosojin began as a primitive fertility symbol, an expression of a people of the land who saw the highest affirmation of life in its potential for creation. So if these deities expose an organ of increase to a passer-by, it is not to sling an obscenity but to bless him with the healthful prosperity of generation. That is why, at New Year's, the Nagano *Dosojin* festivals are children's celebrations, where new life honors the continuance of life. If the rest of the year children throw mud at the deity, or whip it with sticks, or urinate on it, the long-suffering peasant *Dosojin* will still be cleansed by the festival night fires and will re-emerge to quicken and transform and again unify men's souls.

To see these *Dosojin* is to see past the bewildering life of contemporary urban Japan into an older structure, where change was evolutionary and thereby significant.

On the route back to the farm, Tadashi and I came to a crossroads *Dosojin* carved with compass directions. Most potently of all Japanese symbols, these wayside stones reveal how life is a journey wherein the traveler sees that it is the earth itself on which paths cross and from which journeys proceed toward union with otherness. "*Dosojin* shows us the way," Tadashi said. ■

Stirrings amid Stagnation

Do a few good films signal Japan's return to world class?

特別号 映画

Twenty-five years ago, it was among the healthiest of Japanese industries: six thriving studios produced 503 films that sold more than 1.1 billion tickets in 7,067 theaters. Today, in an entertainment world that moves to Sony Walkman rhythms and Pac-Man blips, Japanese cinema is troubled and timid. The five studios that have survived the national movie recession of the past decade or so—Toho, Toei, Shochiku, Nikkatsu and Daiei—find their profits in real estate, supermarket chains, Kabuki theater troupes and bowling alleys. Most of the 322 films produced last year were *roman poruno*, or low-budget, soft-core-sex pictures. The number of theaters is down 68% since 1958, and ticket sales were a pathetic 150 million (down 87%). Even compared with reduced attendance figures in the West, Japan is a disaster area: five tickets were sold last year for every person in the U.S., *vs.* only 1.3 tickets for every Japanese citizen. Though in 1982 both attendance and revenue rose significantly for the first time in two decades, the increase was due entirely to a 13.4% surge in distributors' grosses for foreign films—including Japan's new alltime box-office champ (yawn), *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial*.

In the 1950s Japan could boast not only a robust film industry but also a vibrant national cinema, with three directors—Kenji Mizoguchi, Yasujiro Ozu and Akira Kurosawa—who could be counted among the handful of film-making giants. Mizoguchi died in 1956, Ozu in 1963, and no younger director has since achieved nearly their stature. As for Kurosawa, he has been able to realize only three films since 1965—all outside the studio system—and in 1971, frustrated by the industry's intransigence, attempted suicide. His latest project, a retelling of *King Lear* set in medieval Japan, was recently postponed when Kurosawa's old studio, Toho, declined to invest in the film.

Nor is Japan's premier director alone. The nation's film industry, which once gave its power to, and took its glory from, strong-minded directors, is today run by cautious bosses looking for quick profits in a few restrictive genres. Besides the ubiquitous porno, local audiences embrace movies about gangsters and itinerant swordsmen, family sagas, cartoon fantasies and stoic romances in which the hero and heroine never kiss. The endlessly popular Tora-San movies, which trace the comic misfortunes of a middle-aged wanderer and his family, will soon appear in *The Guinness Book of World Records* as the longest movie series; the 31st Tora-San feature will be released in August. But none of these genres is likely to restore Japan to international prominence. Times look dark in the cinema of the rising sun.

Imamura filming *The Ballad of Narayama*

In its current state of near exhaustion, the Japanese cinema has returned to the exotic isolation of its earliest years. Moviegoing in Japan at the turn of the century was an experience more closely allied to other national arts than to the nickelodeon fever of the West. Until 1918 female roles were played by Kabuki actors in drag. Until the arrival of talking pictures in 1931, audiences depended upon spellbinding narrators called *benshi* to interpret the on-screen action; many were more popular than the country's movie stars. Though Japanese cinema was a strong force in Asia (so much so that in Thailand the word *nippon* came to mean movies), its films were virtually unknown in the West. Half a century later it would take an alliance of television, video games and indifferent product to reduce Japan to the status of also-ran among national cinemas. As Film Historian Joseph Anderson wrote last year, "The Japanese film industry, in contrast to so many other Japanese manufacturers, has no significant foreign markets and the worst prospects at home. It has become Japan's answer to Chrysler."

Things may be changing. The Japanese cinema has not been so lucky as Chrysler in 1983, but there are small stirrings of renaissance. In May, for only the second time since 1954, the top prize at the Cannes Film Festival went to a Japanese film: Shohei Imamura's *The Ballad of Narayama*, an elemental and unsentimentalized portrait of Japan's mountain people in the 1880s. The same festival also showcased Nagisa Oshima's *Merry Christmas Mr. Lawrence*, a P.O.W. melodrama set in Java in 1942 starring David Bowie and two popular Japanese performers, Singer-Songwriter Ryuichi Sakamoto and the TV comic Takeshi. *Merry Christmas Mr. Lawrence* is scheduled to open this fall in New York as the spearhead of an Oshima retrospective.

"The Imamura and Oshima films are neither flukes nor mutants," says Tadao Sato, a respected Japanese film critic, of their success. "They are part of a new tendency among Japanese directors to visualize the 'irrational' elements of the Eastern world through Western-style intelligence. Once, when a Westerner looked at Japanese movies—at Kurosawa's kamikaze-type warriors in *The Seven Samurai* and *Yojimbo*, or Ozu's gentle heroines in *Tokyo Story* and *The Flavor of Green Tea over Rice*, or Mizoguchi's evocations of Kabuki drama in *Ugetsu* and *Sansho the Bailiff*—he could tell himself, 'This is Japan!' He can't find that kind of false reassurance in the works of Imamura or Oshima."

Summer Hits

Like most countries, Japan has a movie market dominated by young viewers, whose tastes run to action and exaggeration rather than to psychology and subtlety. So the titles of last year's top Japanese hits will not surprise: *The Girl with the Machine Gun* and *High Teen Boogie*. A different lesson may be taken from the four hottest Japanese films playing during the early-summer doldrums. (The big films typically open in August and at the New Year.) All four are pictures of ambition and quality; all are critical examinations of Japan's turbulent past.

Shohei Imamura's *The Ballad of Narayama* and Nagisa Oshima's *Merry Christmas Mr. Lawrence* are both expected to earn their distributors about $4 million. So is *The Makioka Sisters*, directed by Kon Ichikawa from Junichiro Tanizaki's novel about an upper-class family just before World War II. Masaki Kobayashi's *Tokyo Saiban*, a grueling, 4½-hour documentary of the Tokyo war-crimes trials, is a surprise success that should earn rental fees of $1.6 million.

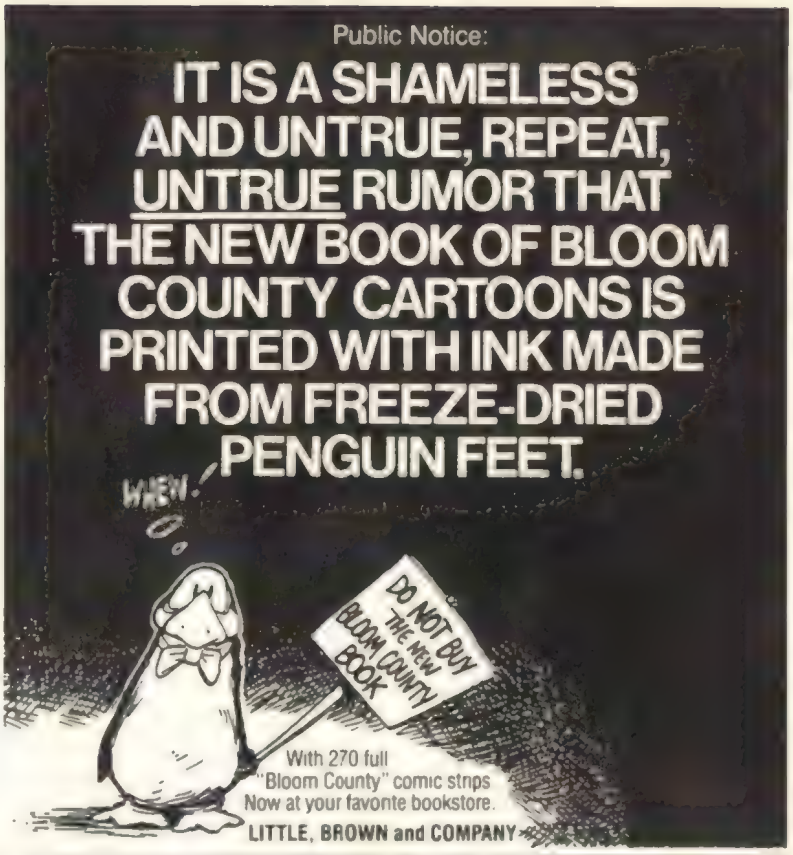
Hollywood brats, take note: the average age of these four directors is 60.

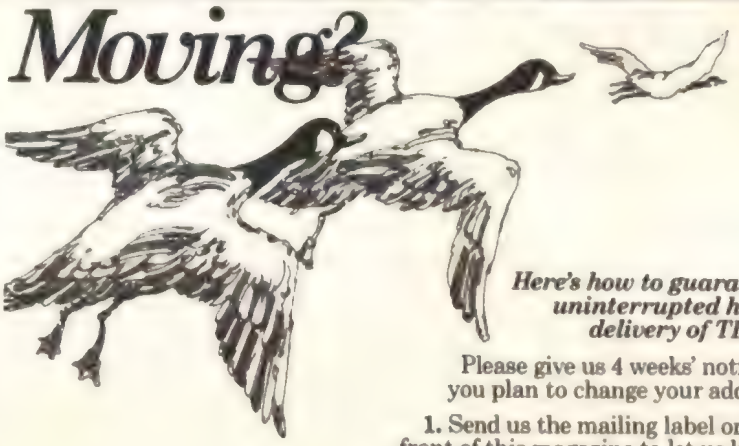
These films mark returns to prominence by directors who have been working in movies for at least a quarter of a century. But where are the Japanese equivalents of Spielberg and Lucas, Coppola and Scorsese—younger directors who can revitalize the box office and the art form? Some are locked into the industry's tradition-bound system of slow advancement, where experience is rewarded but rarely offered. "This brutal apprenticeship has long controlled the Japanese studio system," notes American Writer-Director Paul Schrader, who will soon go to Japan to film a biography of Novelist Yukio Mishima. "I think we're finally starting to see that system break down."

For those directors who resist marching single file on the genre treadmill, the way can be difficult. Donald Richie, an American critic who has lived in Japan since 1946, enumerates the obstacles: "First of all, the Japanese banks can rarely be prevailed upon to make loans for films; they're as cautious as the big studios. And even if an independent film is financed and completed, there are few places to show it, since most moviehouses are owned by the major studios, which naturally want to keep the market cornered." Directors must become studio outlaws, raising money from independent sources, and this demands as much ingenuity as planning and shooting a film. Oshima financed his last three films with help from producers in France, Britain and New Zealand. Other directors may receive grants from the Art Theater Guild, which in the past 20 years has helped launch the careers of Oshima, Susumu Hani and Masahiro Shinoda. "If Japanese cinema hasn't become extinct," says Critic Sato, "it is because of the life-and-death efforts of directors who risk their own money and property to make movies."

After nearly two decades of depression, the Japanese art film has returned to the status of a cottage industry. But it has not seized the world imagination as it did in the 1950s, when the Western success of Kurosawa's *Rashomon* unlocked a trove of tantalizing, hitherto unknown masterpieces. Part of the appeal of these films lay in their strangeness: Japan seemed not just another country but a different world, full of mystery, elegance, violence, surprise.

Today that world has changed again. To the West, Japan is now that more familiar quantity, a friend and competitor. And yet the most ambitious of current Japanese films continue to plumb the nation's unique otherness: the traditions of rigorous personal discipline, honor and revenge. As Imamura, the international prizewinner, notes, "I refused to accompany *Narayama* to Cannes this year, because I thought the film would be misunderstood there. When the people at Toei approached me about submitting it to the festival, I told them to wait 50 years or so. By then we will be understood. And we'll be winning the prize every year." ***—By Richard Corliss. Reported by Yuki Ishikawa and Alan Tansman/Tokyo***





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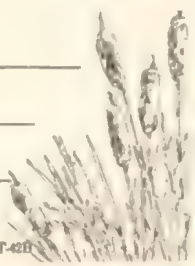

T-42B

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CELICA TURNS HEADS AS EASILY AS IT TURNS CORNERS.

LOOKER!

Browsers practice *tachi-yomi* (standing-reading) at a bookstore in Kanda, Tokyo

Appetite for Literature

Readers devour tragedies, comics, an author or two

特別号 書物

The custom is called *tachi-yomi*, literally standing-reading. The Japanese practice it on commuter trains, buses, street corners and in stores. Especially bookstores. With almost 100% literacy and book sales of more than $3 billion a year, Japan may have the world's most voracious readership.

The national appetite cannot be satisfied at libraries: there are only 1,300 public libraries in the country, and they account for only 1% of annual book sales. Instead, most readers head for the bibliophile's paradise, Tokyo's Kanda district, which houses hundreds of shops with miles of volumes. Here almost all the classics of Japanese and Western literature are available for about a dollar. The softcover books are wallet-size and encased at the store with a protective paper wrapper. About 10% of those volumes are titles originally published in English, German, French and Italian. Tolstoy's novels have been available for nine decades; Isaac Asimov's *Foundation's Edge* is now being prepared. "The number of translations is on the rise," says Hiroshi Hayakawa, an executive with the nation's major foreign book publisher. "The trouble is, you can never tell which book will become a bestseller in Japan. A popular novel in America does not necessarily sell well here. I always trust my sixth sense." Among Hayakawa's trusted novelists: John Gardner, Dick Francis, Kurt Vonnegut and Joseph Wambaugh.

In the U.S., publication of nonfiction outnumbers fiction 8 to 1; in Japan, "serious" novels account for 20% of new titles. Optimists regard this activity as the newest event in Japan's long history of literary interest, reaching far back past wars and courts, before the start of printing itself.

Westerners tend to locate the origin of the modern novel in the pages of *Don Quixote*. In fact, the first instance of fully developed narrative occurred 600 years before Cervantes in *The Tale of Genji*, a 1,135-page work by Lady Murasaki, a member of the court of the Empress Akiko. The 11th century work offers a panoply of "modern" elements; analyses of character, elisions of time and place, divisions into chapters.

Up to the time of *The Genji*, Japanese prose works of the Heian period (794-1185) derived from the legends of Japan, China and India, and from realistic poems describing past heroes and wars. The streams were united in Lady Murasaki's work.

Inoue's novel *Kirikirijin*

In the Kamakura and Muromachi periods (1185-1573), glorious war tales were the fashion. Then several emperors were driven into exile, and the country was beset with wars and rebellion; stories of the samurai, themes of death characterized Japanese prose. When peace was restored at the beginning of the 17th century, the literature of the Tokugawa period (1603-1868) first reflected the new epoch by turning to eccentric verse and frivolous tales. Soon the merchant class replaced warriors as subjects for fiction, and novels examined the lives of the commoner instead of the aristocrat. Still, Japan was more interested in itself than the world. The country's isolation was interrupted by the appearance of Europeans, principally Portuguese priests and Dutch merchants. Ironically, it was their very presence that led to further isolation. The rulers of Japan, fearful of unrest, turned against the missionaries and eventually prohibited Christianity altogether. In 1640 the country was closed to the outside world, and under the rule of the shoguns, literature again turned inward.

But in the nearly four decades between the Meiji restoration of 1868 and the Russo-Japanese War, notes Scholar and Translator Donald Keene, literature in Japan "moved from idle quips directed at the oddities of the West to symbolist poetry, from the thousandth-told tale of the gay young blade and the harlots to the complexities of the psychological novel." Western works were translated; Japanese readers graduated from *Self-Help* by Samuel Smiles to the political novels of Disraeli and the naturalistic fiction of Zola. Expatriates like Lafcadio Hearn began to appraise the strange culture: in Japan, "we find ourselves bewitched forever . . . like those wanderers of folktale who rashly visited Elf-land."

The exotic country produced its first major novelists since the 17th century: Soseki Natsume (1867-1916), Ogai Mori (1862-1922) and Toson Shimazaki (1872-1943), writing in everyday speech rather than in the florid style of the earlier romances. The next generation of writers, informed by the experiments and traditions of the West, returned to native concerns. In *Thousand Cranes* and *Snow Country*, Yasunari Kawataba (1899-1972) addressed the themes of erotic obsession with an oblique sensitivity that won him a Nobel Prize in 1968. Osamu Dazai (1909-48) was Japan's Albert Camus. He sounded the dissonant chords of postwar malaise and romantic nihilism in works like *The Setting Sun* ("Victims. Victims of a transitional period of morality. That is what we certainly are"). The most celebrated of 20th century Japanese novelists remains Yukio Mishima (1925-70), a writer of almost operatic sensibility. From the surreality of *Confessions of a Mask* ("I surrendered myself to them, to those deplorably brutal visions, my most intimate friends") to *The Temple of the Golden Pavilion* ("A reality that has lost its freshness . . . and that gives off a half-putrid odor"), Mishima looked backward to military epochs and derided the indulged, secularized Japan he saw around him.

Mishima's abrasive career ended in *seppuku* (disembowelment, then decapitation by a member of his private "army"). Kawataba and Dazai were not given to such self-dramatization, but they

too died by their own hands. Indeed, it is no mere verbal swagger to define contemporary Japanese writing as a matter of life and death. In the '70s one Tokyo scholarly journal devoted an entire issue to "The Writer and Suicide." There is a death wish operating through Japanese literature. Says Masao Miyoshi, a Japanese literary scholar (*Accomplices of Silence*): "Writing in Japan is always something of an act of defiance. Silence not only invites and seduces all would-be speakers and writers, it is in fact a powerful compulsion throughout the whole society."

Yet there are those writers who refuse to be seduced. And when they speak out, readers respond by the thousands. Internationally prominent novelists like Kobo Abe (*Woman in the Dunes*) and Kenzaburo Oe regularly sell 150,000 copies of each book. Other novelists, like Hisashi Inoue, 47, have enjoyed even greater success (*see box*). Shusako Endo's spare and elegant studies of Christian faith and martyrdom (*Silence; The Samurai*) have brought the 60-year-old author the title of the Japanese Graham Greene and made him one of the nation's most widely translated writers.

How to Enjoy Baseball

Oe, 48, has been strongly influenced by the disruptive fantasies of Norman Mailer and Henry Miller. Oe writes about themes as disparate as nuclear catastrophe (*Hiroshima Notes*) and brain-damaged children (*A Personal Matter*) in a manner that Howard Hibbett, Harvard professor of Japanese literature, considers "the most exciting and most imaginative of the postwar novelists."

Other writers, discontent with the standard forms of literary expression have begun to create a new genre, blurring the already eroded line between fiction and nonfiction. Shohei Ooka's *The Long Slope* recalls the Imperial Army's crimes of World War II through courtroom records of the Far Eastern Military Tribunal; Otohiko Kaga's *Ship Without an Anchor* is the story of a Japanese ambassador who was sent to America to forestall the war.

In addition, notes Tokyo Professor Shoichi Saeki, "the Japanese literary scene is now showing a return to ancient times when women were engaged in creative writing. Today women writers, both young and old, are very, very active." Novelist Chiyo Uno, 85, recently published a series of memoirs and autobiographical pieces (*The Sound of Rain, The Tale of a Certain Woman*). Perhaps the most respected woman currently writing is Taeko Kono, 67. Her novel *Revolving Door* deals with protagonists whose ordinary lives cloak sadomasochistic and pathological behavior. The Cheeverish approach of Yuko Tsushima, 36 (*A Bed of Grass*), examines the roots of family distress and false nostalgia. Taeko Tomioka, 47, is a poet turned novelist, celebrated for her unflinching analyses of social despair. For these women, says Anthologist Yukiko Tanaka, "writing is the antithesis of the selfless submission prescribed by Japanese culture. Women writers have needed great courage to surmount the many obstacles to their attempts at such self-assertion."

That assertion would seem to present new evidence of Japan's literary resurgence. But there is an equal and opposite force at work in the country, and pessimists cite it as an indication of decline. "It used to be that every potential intellectual in Japan read Hegel or Kant," laments Keene. "But no more. The people who seven or eight years ago were reading Romain Rolland are now reading comics."

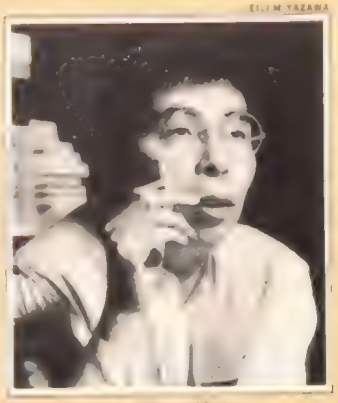
That is not an exaggeration. *Manga*, Japanese comic books, are more adult and more insidious than TV. Unlike the pulpy, stapled American product, *manga* are well bound and published in paperback size. The drawings are cinematic, displaying heroes and heroines in explicit sexual and military-war adventures. In recent years, *manga* have grown into a billion-dollar publishing venture. Doraemon, an atomic-powered robot cat, makes Garfield look like something the human dragged in. Created in 1970, Doraemon has now appeared in a 26-volume collection with sales of $50 million. In 1980 Akira Toriyama sold 15 million copies of his 17-volume sci-fi comic *Dr. Slump*. There is even a *manga* temple outside Tokyo where, above the central altar, a legend is inscribed: THE IDEAL PRIEST:

Magician of Language

A white 1983 Mercedes 230E embellishes the driveway. The stucco house is one of the most imposing in the burgeoning Tokyo suburb of Ichikawa. More than 100,000 books line the walls of the library. Two male secretaries are at work in the study. Yet Hisashi Inoue is not happy. "It's terrible to be a bestselling writer," he complains. One of the terrors is familiar to any Westerner: the Japanese version of the IRS. The novelist has sold 12 million copies of his 56 books, making him one of the most successful writers in the world today. Nonetheless, he says, "about 85% of my income is taken out for taxes. I see money passing through in front of me." There is quite a bit of money to pass: his estimated income last year was $542,000. The other terrors include the temptations of easy but sleazy money. "Some people offer as much as a million yen ($4,200) for an hour-long lecture. You can even get away with a talk about what you did yesterday. I refuse any such request. To me it is corruption."

To stay incorrodible, the lean, chain-smoking writer has turned himself into a fiction factory. This month he will write the equivalent of 150 printed pages, working simultaneously on four serialized novels. Inoue, who first established himself as a TV script and gag writer, combines the fecundity of Isaac Asimov, the antic regionalism of Erskine Caldwell and the solemn dedication of Marcel Proust. A lapsed Catholic, Inoue works in a monkish annex that he calls "the cockpit," next to his vast and growing collection of books. Except for dinner breaks with his wife of 21 years, he shuns company. "The world of imagination is my reality," he says. "I haven't left this house in a month." He refuses to attend parties, to undertake book tours or appear on TV interview shows; he is content to let his works sell themselves. They do. His most celebrated book, *Kirikirijin* (People of Kirikiri), is an 834-page comic novel about an imaginary hill town in northern Japan that secedes from the rest of the nation. More than 850,000 copies have been sold in two years.

Such outsize narratives have provoked accusations of overproduction. Counters Inoue: "I don't like bonsaiism—the idea that every literary work has to be exactly like a neatly shaped miniature tree. I think it is perfectly all right for some trees to grow big and wild."


ELLEN YAZAWA
Fiction Factory Hisashi Inoue

Inoue's forest of comedy, fantasy, biography and satire remains untranslated in the West, largely because of his incessant wordplay. But the writer whom Japan's critics have called the "magician of language" plans five novels that will convey universal meanings and ideas. Says he: "I would like to make my ways of expression so transparent that anyone in the world can understand what I'm saying."

What is Hisashi Inoue saying? "What drives me to writing is my love toward human beings, including myself. My basic message is 'Hang in there, fellows. You are doing great.' "

CARTOONS AND THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH.

Comic books, educators agree, have played a distressingly important role in lowering literary standards. Junzo Iwase, president of K.K. Bestsellers, a thriving Tokyo house, gave up publishing novels several years ago. His 100 annual titles range in subject matter from moneymaking to politics, from sports to erotica. Says Iwase: "Our readers are *sarariman* (salary men) whose favorite topics of conversation are office affairs and professional baseball. We knew there was a tremendous market there." Last year K.K. presented the market with *How to Enjoy Baseball Ten Times More* by Takenori Emoto, a former professional baseball player ("You feel tempted to make fun of the 50,000 spectators"). The book was ghosted like many of K.K.'s assembly-line products. "Sometimes we think of the title first and then make the book to fit it," Iwase explains. "Take the new bestseller *It's a Fun World Because Politics Stinks*, which has sold 100,000 copies since last May. The title is provocative and eye-catching because it contradicts common sense. I knew it would tickle the readers' curiosity." Few bestsellers have tickled as successfully as *Totto-Chan, The Little Girl at the Window*—childhood reminiscences of TV Celebrity Tetsuko Kuroyanagi.

Totto-Chan at window

Is the Japanese writer's life beset with the hazards of suicide and silence, commercialism and inattention? Or does it take place in an unusually literate arena, where new works are still given an avid and intelligent reception? The evidence is conflicting. To be sure, every year, potentially serious readers turn from Kawataba to *Mighty Atom*. But every year fresh contestants enter poetry and fiction competitions. If some serious publishers have closed their doors, others offer a profusion of monthly, bimonthly and weekly magazines, about 2,000 in all.

It took almost a thousand years for *The Tale of Genji* to reach the West. In this century, the works of Kawataba, Abe, Mishima and their colleagues took only a few years to reach across two oceans. Today Japanese literature, like everything and everyone else in the country, is in a greater hurry. Translations are being feverishly prepared; America and Europe will see some 50 unfamiliar novels and histories in the next year. Whether those volumes make their way into foreign mainstreams remains to be seen, read and discussed. What is certain is that Japanese literature, which has earned only one Nobel Prize and to a large extent is still the region of specialists, at last seems ready for international competition. Says Hibbett: "The language has kept Japan fenced off longer than other countries. But old rules no longer apply. In literature there is no culture gap any more." ***—By Stefan Kanfer. Reported by Yuki Ishikawa/Tokyo and Rosemarie Tauris Zadikov/New York***

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特別号 人々

Compared with **Tamasaburo Bando,** Dustin Hoffman was a raw ingénue in *Tootsie.* Though only 33, Bando is already a master *onnagata,* a man who plays female roles in the centuries-old art of Kabuki. So apposite are his opposite-sex portrayals that he is the object of study by aspiring actresses and real-life geishas seeking to refine their feminine ways. "To act as an *onnagata,*" he says, "is to try to create an ideal; what I as a man would consider to be the ideal woman." Bando has also done non-Kabuki work, including heralded performances as Lady Macbeth and Desdemona. But his dream role was created by Tennessee Williams in *A Streetcar Named Desire.* Blanche DuBois, of course.

■

Perhaps Actor **Kiyoshi Atsumi** deserves a rest, along with his

Bando: a woman's man

fans. The celebrated star of the polysequel Tora-San movies has just finished his 31st, an assembly line–like creativity that puts Sylvester Stallone and George Lucas to shame. In each Tora-San film, Atsumi, 55, noodles around in the same wildly checked, double-breasted leisure suit and pork-pie hat, playing a middle-age Walter Mitty pitted against the vicissitudes of modern Japan. And with each film, some 4

Atsumi taking an IBM commercial break from his Walter Mitty reveries

million Tora-trekkies line up at the box office. His latest fan is a big one: IBM has cast him for a new series of Japanese ads. "Computers in a way are like Tora-San," says Atsumi. "They are dedicated to the well-being of people." Actors (and ad-agency copywriters) are the same the world over.

■

To the rarefied world of music instruction, **Shinichi Suzuki** long ago introduced such stand-bys of Japanese industrial thought as volume, logic and enthusiasm. Suzuki began developing his learning-through-imitation method of teaching violin more than three decades ago. Today he is 84, and his world-famous technique is 300,000 students old (two-thirds of them in the U.S.). Suzuki begins by having his students, many of them just three or four years old, watch those in the classes ahead of them. After a couple of months, they are given empty, miniature violin cases and chopsticks for bows, to get the feel of what they will be doing later. Students graduate to a violin, one-sixteenth normal size, and finally to the real thing. Simple, efficient and, more important, effective. Says Suzuki: "You can call me chief of an amateur violinist mass-production plant."

■

When the national tax office released its latest annual figures on Japan's highest income earners (yes, such matters are made public), the top sports figure was **Tatsunori Hara,** 25, the star third baseman for

Suzuki: a musical legion

Hara: a Giant income

the Tokyo Yomiuri Giants, who makes $720,000 from his baseball salary and commercial endorsements. Hara has attained a status level that outstrips his statistics, though these are not unimpressive. He is currently hitting .300 and is second in home runs in the Central League with 19, after 76 games. How does Hara think his team might fare in the U.S. big leagues? "The gap between the American and Japanese pro game," says he solemnly, "is like the nutrient gap between a giant beefsteak and a bowl of rice."

■

The sassy pertness that marks the style of many young, contemporary female vocalists has obviously impressed **Seiko Matsuda,** 21. She might well be the Olivia Newton-John of Japan. Seiko has what her countrymen describe as the girl-next-door look (if you happen to live in a suburban Osaka apartment complex) and, to be polite, a less than major lyrical talent. But since 1980, her twelve albums and 13 singles

Matsuda: a bankable songstress

have brought in more than $125 million, boosting her own income from records to half a million dollars a year. Pressing on while her pressings are hot, she has starred in two movies, *The Legend of Plumeria,* about a student in love, and *The Tomb of the Wild Chrysanthemum,* about a farm girl in love. If anyone wants to make *Grease Japanese,* the only casting problem would be John Travolta's role.

—By E. Graydon Carter

"In show business, we'd call Smirnoff a quality performer. In business, we'd call it a superb value."

POLLY BERGEN, businesswoman and entertainer.

"People who think of me just as an actress don't really know me. I think of myself as a sharp businesswoman, too.

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